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The Shape of Things

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBOURG—EVEN while we set down the names whole countries are snatched out of Hitler's grasp. The edges of Germany itself are crumbling, and by the week's end the attack on the inner fortress will certainly be fully launched. All of southern France is now liberated, and in the north 100,000 German troops are supposed to be trapped between the Somme and the Belgian frontier. This in the west. In the east more than half the Balkan peninsula has been taken. Russian forces are close to a junction with Tito's army in Yugoslavia, and a million satellite troops have been lost to Germany just as its own manpower has reached a final stage of exhaustion. The Nazi débâcle in the east is almost complete; only Hungary, headed now by the fascist puppet, General Lakatos, still holds out, driven by its own suicidal determination to keep Transylvania at any cost and by the force of a full German occupation. Finland at last has accepted reality, and the guns on the Finnish front are silent. (What has that miserable country gained by its long servitude to its Nazi overlord?) The stage is now set for every sort of rumor of German collapse and capitulation. Yet areas of stubborn resistance remain to warn us that the enemy, though beaten, may still rouse himself to a final desperate struggle. In Brest the Nazi garrison hangs on, as we write, against the most concentrated air attack of the entire war, and on the Vistula front, as in the Baltic states, the Germans continue to resist Russian pressure. The first engagements on German territory will show whether the Nazi fortress is going to fall intact, as have the occupied countries, or whether there is more than words in the *Angriff* article by Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmut Sundermann, broadcast by the Berlin Radio, pledging that the invaders of Germany would find there "nothing but death, destruction, and hatred."

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THE NAZIS HAVE AT LAST ADMITTED THE certainty of defeat. Although there is still talk of a secret weapon which will win the war in four to six months, it appears that few Germans place much stock in the latest whoppers. An informal poll conducted more than a month ago by a Swedish agency revealed that

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at least 80 per cent of the Germans questioned believed even then that military defeat was inevitable. This view has been given official sanction by none other than General Kurt Dittmar, Germany's leading military radio commentator, who declared recently that "the course of events seems to support" those who believe Germany's military defeat is near. Dittmar went on to say that Germany must fight on, not in order to win, but in the hope that the Allies can be induced to make a softer peace than is implied in the term "unconditional surrender." Civilians are being urged to make every German city a Stalingrad. Without doubt the German people will hold out for a time, but it will be because they are terrorized by secret police and a Nazi party organization that still retains its efficiency in face of the impending military collapse. But the resistance shown by the population of Stalingrad, Leningrad, and Sevastopol will not be repeated in Germany. Indeed, the necessity for terroristic methods is but an external reflection of the inherent German morale.

*

THE LATEST PROPOSALS FOR POLISH UNITY submitted by Prime Minister Mikolajczyk after approval by the exile cabinet and the underground parliament in Warsaw appear to represent an honest attempt to reach a settlement with Moscow. Mikolajczyk has declared his willingness to set up at Warsaw, immediately after its liberation, a democratic coalition government which would include representatives from the pro-Soviet Polish Workers Party. This government would renew relations with the Soviet Union, undertake the responsibility of assuring order in the rear of the Red Army, and prepare immediately for elections. The new government would also take steps to remove one of the thorniest points of friction with Russia by abolishing the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Polish forces held by the bitterly anti-Soviet General Sosnkowski. Proposals are also said to have been submitted for a compromise on the long-standing border dispute. It is not known how closely Mikolajczyk's plan approximates the proposals presented to him by the new Committee of National Liberation, but the contrast between the new plan and all those previously submitted by the Government in Exile is so great as to raise hope that an agreement may be possible. The terrible toll taken among Warsaw's brave and patriotic population because of lack of coordination between the underground and the advancing Red Army has created a dramatic urgency which should facilitate a compromise settlement.

*

THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IN LONDON has made public the agreement between Premier Subasich and Marshal Tito, signed on June 16 on liberated Yugoslav soil. The agreement calls for a government which will include persons who have not "compromised themselves in the struggle against the National Liberation Movement." It recommends the unification under the leadership of Marshal Tito of all forces now fighting in the country. And it wisely postpones until after the war the solution of the organization of the state. The people will be given the right to decide whether or not they want a king to rule them. In a statement appended to the agreement, the exile government recognizes "the national and democratic achievements of the Yugoslav people during the three-year struggle, by which the foundations of a democratic federal organization of the federal states have been laid and a temporary administration of the country set up" by the National Liberation Movement. "All traitors to the people who collaborated with the enemy either openly or secretly" are condemned, and Marshal Tito is given full credit for the leadership of the resistance. Mihailovich is not mentioned at all. And so at last, the people are recognized and Marshal Tito is acknowledged as the military and political authority within Yugoslavia, empowered to communicate with the chancelleries of the other United Nations. It is to be hoped that the agreement will hasten the flow of supplies into Yugoslavia.

*

COMMENTING ON SIDNEY HILLMAN'S ABLE statement before the House Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, the New York *Herald Tribune* admits that the CIO Political Action Committee is not violating the law. But it says "the whole business is wrong." It is wrong, in the *Herald Tribune's* opinion, "because it is the systematic application of heat to candidates for public office by a powerful pressure group with a distinct economic interest." But American politics, and both major parties, as the editors of the *Herald Tribune* well know, have long been subject to the pressures of groups with distinct economic interests. We have yet to hear the *Herald Tribune* or any other conservative newspaper object to the powerful pressure exerted on both parties by the New York banking community, or by American industry. It would seem that the objection is not to pressure groups in general but to the exercise of pressure by labor. The *Herald Tribune* says that the CIO PAC "constitutes a threat to freedom of choice in a democracy and majority rule." But it seems to us that a committee directly representing 5,000,000 workers and indirectly reflecting the Presidential choice of the overwhelming majority of America's 60,000,000 workers is far less "a threat to freedom of choice . . . and majority rule" than the activities, let us say, of the du Pont or Rockefeller families—or the $1,300,000 pre-election "educational" campaign of the National Association of Manufecturers. For the money of these few easily outweighs the votes of many. Far from being a threat to majority rule, the activities of the CIO Political Action

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Committee should help to reestablish majority rule by arousing millions of workers to an effective use of their ballots.

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IN PASSING THE EMASCULATED GEORGE BILL by an overwhelming vote the House has greased the ways for the coming post-war depression. True, the Senate bill offered little that would prevent a crisis when ten million service men and fifteen to twenty million war workers scramble simultaneously for peacetime jobs which may never materialize. But the Senate bill did at least provide unemployment compensation for the several millions who are employed in federal shipyards and arsenals. And it provided a federal training program for demobilized war workers together with an allowance to enable those who have left their homes to work in war factories to return to their former place of residence. If a sufficient number of telegrams and letters go to Washington this next week from the people who will vote in November, these provisions may yet be reinstated by the Senate-House conferees. Otherwise, we face an inevitable post-war crisis because millions will lack the buying power to maintain a high level of production, either by agriculture or industry. But the failure of Congress to assure adequate compensation for displaced war workers is not its most serious shortcoming. Far graver has been its delay in setting up an agency empowered to lay plans for post-war public construction. It has begun to look as if, instead of "full employment," we are in for another protracted period of apple-selling and leaf-raking. And this time Democrats as well as Republicans are responsible.

George W. Norris

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHEN George W. Norris was defeated for the Senate in 1942 he believed that his usefulness was gone and his end near. Now, two years later, the great Senator has died, and from all over the land he loved so deeply men are hurrying to testify that never in his long life had he been more needed than today. For the strange fact is that Norris's defeat was also his release into a freer, broader field of action. It is true that he was weary and disheartened. But it is equally true that his retirement from the Senate transformed him into a national symbol of the country's struggle toward a more vigorously democratic future. The integrity that had stood like a fortress against the assaults of the strongest and most unscrupulous financial interests in the United States, the fierce faith in a more just and generous society —those qualities suddenly became a nucleus around which the hopes of progressives of every faction could rally.

In December, 1942, two months after the election, *The Nation* and the Union for Democratic Action combined to hold a great public dinner in New York in honor of the man and his record. It was an amazing affair. Instead of the usual demonstration of appreciation and respect—though these were not lacking—the dinner developed into a political rally. The audience itself was an indication of Norris's place in America: it was a "popular front" of all the progressive elements in the community. And the speakers, one after another, called upon the old Senator to use his freedom from official duties to act as leader of a new movement, non-partisan but militant, to resist reaction and fight for a people's peace, for full production and a decent American standard of living.

Philip Murray, President of the CIO, at the close of his speech struck Senator Norris on the shoulder and called out, "You lead, George, and we'll follow!" James Patton pledged the active participation of the Farmers Union. And the many unattached liberals at the speakers' table, as well as on the floor, felt a new lifting of hope, a new energy, at this sudden, warm demonstration of unity.

The attempt to create a movement out of that single event did not succeed. Perhaps the moment was not right. But an impulse of such strength, expressing such obvious need, seldom dies without issue. Last month George W. Norris accepted the post of Honorary Chairman of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. And on the board of the new organization are to be found many of the leaders who came together that night to convert defeat into victory by closing their ranks around a man who represented the best in all the groups on the left in America.

The other day I had a letter from Senator Norris. It must be one of the last he wrote for it is dated August 25, four days before his fatal attack. The letter was personal but it shows so clearly how he felt at the end of his life about the organization he headed and the issues with which it must deal, that, with a few omissions, I am going to print it here. I look upon it as a last testament, however unintended, to his political followers. Readers should remember that it was written by a man who had championed labor all his life; who was the author, with Mayor La Guardia, of the anti-injunction act outlawing "yellow-dog" contracts and protecting labor's right to strike and picket. They should realize that when Norris criticizes workers or leaders who have encouraged wartime strikes, he is speaking out of a passionate desire for a labor movement, not only strong in numbers and militant in behalf of its own interests, but statesmanlike and mature, aware of the political responsibilities that go with power.

After resigning from the Republican Party, Norris had no political affiliation. But he always hoped to see

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develop that unity in action between workers, farmers, and liberals of other groups out of which a national progressive coalition might arise. He believed that the PAC, with its roots in the labor movement and its branches reaching out into the community as a whole, might provide the start of such a coalition. The letter which follows should be read with this background in mind.

Dear Miss Kirchwey:

I have read your letter of August 16 with a great deal of interest. One of the reasons I hesitated about becoming the Honorary Chairman of the National Citizens Political Action Committee was that I feared it might be, in the mind of the public, coupled with a purely labor organization. I feel that it ought to be much broader than that. I have at different times talked the general subject over with Mr. Murray, and I was always greatly impressed with his fairness and with his own belief that labor, like other groups, has made its mistakes. An organization that was purely a labor organization would not be popular, especially in the West. There is a feeling among the farmers that labor organizations have not been fair and that they insist on getting a high wage for themselves, while disregarding the fact that the farmer's financial success is after all a gamble and depends entirely upon the weather and other conditions over which he has no control whatever.

I might say in passing that I do not agree with the position that many leading farmers have taken. They, like some of the leaders of labor, are, I think, unreasonable; they are jealous, they are prejudiced and do not take a broad-minded view of the situation. They are too selfish and have little regard for the feelings and rights of people not connected with their group. This of course is not true of all leaders of either group. Some of them are broad-minded, fair men, and are taking positions that seem to me very commendable. I myself have had a feeling that there have been strikes that were unnecessary and should have been avoided. I have been very much perturbed by the fact that some of these strikes have taken place against the wishes and desires of labor leaders. I feel, particularly, that the Philadelphia strike was uncalled for and that the people who were hurt by it, more than any other class, were the laborers themselves. That strike excited a feeling that it was unwarranted and, under the circumstances, even unpatriotic.

I read a report of the strike quoting from a speech by one of the leaders, that grieved me very much. I thought it injurious to our war effort and particularly to labor. This speaker seemed to have nothing else in view than the success of the strike. He had apparently no idea of the terrible condition in which the country is now placed. He evidently did not care whether bombs and other munitions of war were made in sufficient quantities so that our soldiers at the front would have the means of carrying on the fight, and I noticed in the report, that when he made the loudest claims for labor he was cheered immensely by his hearers.

I have no sympathy with that kind of behavior. I think no one will deny that I have been a friend of labor practically all my life, but I condemn such actions as bitterly as anyone else does. Labor ought to be prepared like any other group of citizens to make the sacrifices that are necessary to bring success. Sometimes these sacrifices would mean that it would have to put up temporarily with conditions that under ordinary circumstances would be unbearable, but unless we are all willing to sacrifice—and that means give up some of our own ideas and keep on fighting, even though we are not getting the right kind of treatment—we cannot hope to achieve the unity that will bring success to our cause; and that is one reason why I would have hated to become officially identified with an organization that I knew was going to be charged with representing only labor. . . .

I think the National Citizens Political Action Committee ought to let the country understand that we are a much broader organization, that we want justice and fairness for labor, and that we are equally anxious that every field of activity, including the farmers particularly, should have the same fair, honest, equal treatment. If we could get this idea abroad and could convince the people that we are asking no special favors for labor, we would go a long ways towards winning the fight.

Yesterday I wrote a letter to Mr. Clark Foreman, Secretary of the N.C.P.A.C., in which I enclosed a letter I had received from a Methodist minister in New Jersey. I enclosed also a copy of my reply. This minister had written criticising me severely for becoming Honorary Chairman of the N.C.P.A.C. He evidently thought that he was a liberal, but he was outspoken in condemnation of Roosevelt. He did not want a fourth term. He was mad at England because she had not treated India right, and he had it in for China because Chiang Kai Shek was a dictator, and he had hatred for the Communists and therefore did not like our partnership with Russia. He evidently hated everybody except that he said nothing about Hitler or any of his supporters.

Such men are scattered over the country. Many of them cannot be subdued of course, but all such men as have written me are leaders of public thought in their communities. I wanted to cause him to stop and think what he was doing. I did not express any bitterness in my reply although I think I would have been justified in doing so. It seems to me that our honest patriotic citizenship, especially the citizen inclined to the liberal cause, ought to be reminded that we have in our midst men and women, perhaps patriotic, who are opposing our cause because they do not like Russia or China or Great Britain. And we ought to be able to convince these people, not only of the righteousness of our cause, but also that citizens who hold back because they do not like Russia, China, or Great Britain are doing a great injury to their country and are dis-

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uniting our people in a fight where absolute unity is necessary for success. G. W. NORRIS.

The death of Norris has occurred at a moment when labor has finally become aware of its enormous potential strength as a factor in American politics. In the full development of that strength lies the greatest hope of our democratic future, but it must be inspired by the high sense of responsibility so earnestly stressed by the Senator in his letter.

[*An article on Senator Norris by David Lilienthal, head of the Tennessee Valley Administration, will appear in an early issue. And later on* The Nation *will publish several chapters from Norris's autobiography, which was happily completed before his death.*]

A Plea to the President

THE editors of *The Nation* appeal to President Roosevelt to send a special message to Congress asking the passage of the Chavez-Scanlon bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. They believe that the President would thereby invigorate the campaign for his reelection. A courageous insistence on the application at home of the principles for which we fight abroad would give his supporters a lift their spirits badly need. A certain enervation is visible in their ranks. We are not unmindful of the necessities of so-called practical politics, but a combination of excessive caution and dubious expediency in domestic policy may turn out to be highly impractical. The invocation of Mr. Roosevelt's past achievements is running into the stage of diminishing returns, and the moment has come for a move with some admixture of the heroic.

We do not know what the Nervous Nellies of the White House palace guard are telling the President, but we cannot imagine a more favorable combination of circumstances in which to defy the right-wing Southern oligarchy which thinks it owns the Democratic Party. The Republicans, after their platform promises, and on the eve of an election in which the Negro vote may prove decisive, cannot vote against the Chavez-Scanlon bill. To ask for its passage now would be to drive a wedge, perhaps a permanent wedge, between the Republicans in Congress and their reactionary Democratic allies. The passage of the bill, under prodding from the President, would bring the great majority of Negroes back into the New Deal camp and would give new heart to listless progressives who are for the President as against Dewey but are fed up with Mr. Roosevelt's long-continued appeasement of the right.

We are not ungrateful for the President's action in establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee or for the limited support he has given it, but we believe an unusual political opportunity presents itself at this time to make that committee permanent, to give it legal standing and power, and to write into law the principles it has applied. Mr. Justice Roberts gave those principles the sanction of the Supreme Court three years before the FEPC was set up. In the New Negro Alliance case the court extended the protection of the Norris-La Guardia act to picketing against racial discrimination and said, "The desire for fair and equitable conditions of employment on the part of persons of any race, color, or persuasion, and the removal of discrimination against them by reason of their race or religious beliefs is quite as important . . . as fairness and equity in terms and conditions of employment. Race discrimination by an employer may reasonably be deemed more unfair and less excusable than discrimination on the ground of union affiliation." Congress has full power to act, and the President should ask it to do so.

The establishment of a permanent FEPC seems to us part of any sound program for the preservation of social stability in the transition from war to peace. A permanent FEPC would help to prevent the grave racial disorders that marked demobilization after the First World War. "The homecoming Negro soldiers," Gunnar Myrdal says of that period in "The American Dilemma," "met the suspicions and fears of the Southern whites. In the North, their new footholds in industry were contested by anxious white job-seekers in the post-war depression. A wave of lynchings swept the South and even more bloody race riots swept the North." In 1919 there were race riots in twenty-six American cities, the worst in Chicago, where fifteen whites and twenty-three Negroes were killed. The field of race relations has too long been the no man's land of American law, and the firm enforcement of equality in employment opportunity will go far to prevent the festering resentment that breeds disorder.

We likewise believe that the establishment of a permanent FEPC would be an effective weapon of political warfare when Hitler is defeated and our energies turn toward the defeat of Japan. It would give the justifiably uneasy and suspicious brown and yellow peoples of the Far East concrete evidence of a progressive change in the American attitude toward the colored races. It would dissociate us in their eyes from attitudes that seem to them strikingly similar to Hitler's and thus spike the biggest gun in the arsenal of Japanese propaganda. In Latin America, long disturbed by discriminations here against immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries, it would give new reality to the Good Neighbor policy.

A permanent FEPC would erect a barrier against those forces which lie in wait for us at home and intend with the coming of peace to exploit for the purposes of reaction every racial and religious difference among us.

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Anti-Semitism will be stronger and better organized than before, and Nazi propaganda techniques will be applied to set Americans of different racial origins apart from each other. We ask the President to act in the name of justice to the Negroes and other minority groups in our armed forces. A permanent FEPC would be some guaranty that they will not face at the employment-agency window what they thought they had defeated in Europe. Ernesto Galarza of the Pan-American Union, testifying before the House Labor Committee on behalf of Mexican Americans, summed up what the FEPC means to all minorities in this country when he said that it gives them "a feeling that they belong."

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

RADIO Tokyo has come up with a new phrase explaining defeat which belongs in the same class with Radio Berlin's "elastic defense." The phrase first appeared after the loss of Saipan, and much seems likely to be heard of it in the coming months.

"Basic sea area" is the phrase. It is used to describe that area of the sea which is considered vital to Japan's existence as a nation, the area which Japan naturally controls and will fight for. This area runs from the Sea of Okhotsk in the north southward through the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea to the South China Sea: that is, the entire belt of seas bordering the east of Asia, from Kamchatka in the north to Sumatra in the south—a distance of more than five thousand miles.

The most obviously significant thing about this list is that it makes no mention of the Pacific Ocean—ordinarily considered quite an important body of water. Japan now claims not only no dominion but no essential national interest anywhere east of the great island chain stretching from the Kuriles through the home islands, the Ryukyus, Formosa, and the Philippines to the Netherlands East Indies. And even in the latter group, it would seem that Tokyo has written off Netherlands New Guinea, the Moluccas, the eastern Sundas, and Celebes.

It is in the "basic sea area" that the Japanese fleet is to operate; here, presumably, it is to give battle to the United States Third and Fifth Fleets, or any other Allied fleets which present themselves. The casual dismissal of the Pacific smacks more than a little of sour grapes; it is by way of being a back-handed compliment to Task Force 58, that extraordinarily mobile strategic air force, and the troops and planes of the Allied Southwest Pacific command. It may also be a prior apology for the non-appearance of the Japanese fleet at a number of threatened points: the Volcano and Bonin groups, stepping-stones from the Marianas to Tokyo; Formosa, a dagger thrust at the China coast; the Moluccas, and the Philippines themselves. All of these are approached from the Pacific, and the inaction of the Japanese fleet is thus explained.

This is an inexcusable perversion of the fleet-in-being principle—inexcusable, that is, in Western eyes. The principle requires that an inferior fleet maintain itself intact, not offering combat, but forcing the superior enemy fleet to restrict its operations until the fleet-in-being is destroyed. But the sole type of mission which justifies the fleet-in-being principle is the defense of territory in the nation's home waters; and it is inconceivable that the waters on one side of, say, Formosa are "home waters" while those on the other side are of no concern; are "outside the 'basic sea area'."

Of course the reason for this change of heart and strategic concept is not hard to find. Allied sea power began to increase relative to Japan's sea power at Mid-

Shading Shows Japan's "Basic Sea Area"

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way, and the difference has since increased at an almost fantastic rate. The Japanese attempted interception at Saipan, but failed in their aim to reduce our combat strength to approximate equality with their own by preliminary air attacks, which cost them four hundred planes, and fled before closing surface action. They inflicted *no losses* on our fleet, and suffered a defeat of magnitude themselves: a Hayataka-class carrier was definitely sunk and another was left burning; these were two of the newest carriers in the fleet and among the very few large fleet carriers in the entire Japanese navy. Two more carriers, slightly smaller but still among the largest and newest of the fleet, were listed respectively as probably sunk and badly hit.

Against this we now have *seven* battle fleets, plus Admiral King's own Tenth (anti-submarine) Fleet. Obviously Radio Tokyo would not care to dispute the Pacific Ocean, nor would it care to dispute Admiral Nimitz when he says: "These three islands [Guam, Saipan, Tinian] give us the very best springboard to complete the occupation of the Marianas and to enable us to keep moving. All you have to do is to look at the map to see that they are strategically located with reference to Japan, China, the Philippines, and the Southwest Pacific. We have in these islands an area which will mount a good many troops and we propose to develop the facilities for that purpose—to carry the war to the Japs."

Consequently the Japs are preparing to meet the war nearer home, along a defense line as close as they can shave it to their vital area—the natural resources of the East Indies and the Philippines. Already the Halmaheras air bases are being abandoned, runways are being obstructed with logs, and Allied air strikes are destroying grounded Jap planes without being intercepted. The Japanese ground situation in New Guinea is steadily worsening; the rest of the Marianas, the Bonins, Palau, and Truk have been reduced to vulnerable outposts, the army garrisons outside the "basic sea area" are being left to starve, and air activity everywhere has been cut to the bone, except in China.

But enemy air strength has not simply disappeared; it is being concentrated in the Philippines, where garrisons are also being strengthened, and it is still on the offensive in China, where the army regrouping has been completed and the drive toward Kweilin has started. Japan will fight hard to protect the "basic sea area," and harder to protect its "defensive triangle"—the home islands, China, and Manchuria. For behind the reluctant Japanese navy still stands the bulk of the Japanese army.

[*Next week: Japanese naval concepts; the "defensive triangle"; the Cabinet and the people.*]

A Purged Press for France

BY RUFUS BAXTER

THE reform of the French press, undertaken by the Algiers government as part of a vast effort to resolve the problems of liberation and reconstruction in the spirit of the Fourth Republic, has provoked a wave of criticism in this country and Britain. Many newspapers have complained that the legislation, drawn up under the auspices of M. Henri Bonnet, Commissioner of Information, will amount to a government monopoly of news in France. Some have even cited these laws as indications of a dictatorial tendency in the De Gaulle government. Frederick Kuh, in a dispatch from London published in *PM*, writes: "The issue involved is basic because the French policy is threatening to the progressive, enlightened plan maturing in America and Britain to insure a free flow of news throughout the world after the war." I think, however, that Mr. Kuh and the others who have criticized French policy would feel differently if they took the trouble to examine more closely the whole problem of the press in France.

One is too apt at this distance to judge the measures taken in Algiers according to conditions prevailing in Britain and the United States. But it should not be forgotten that if the venal and libelous press of pre-war France cried out for reform, four years of German occupation have made deep surgery one of the very conditions of a renovated French Republic. The official press, having served the enemy with docility or zeal, must be totally wiped out, not simply "purified." A vigorous new press has already started to come out of hidden print shops and cellars, where for four years it has led a clandestine existence. Can it for a moment be thought that this press, born in a spirit of fierce liberty of thought and expression, will submit now to anti-liberal controls imposed by the provisional government? The new legislation, drawn up to meet the peculiar conditions existing in France today, provides the weapons necessary for a legal purge of a fascist-distorted press. Neither its purposes nor its provisions should alarm democrats in any land.

One of the earliest in date of the laws which will govern the reform of the press during the transition period is the anti-libel law passed on May 6. The necessity of this law, designed to strengthen, so as to make operative, the classic French libel law of July 29, 1881,

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will be apparent to anyone who remembers the scurrilous and defamatory journalism that flourished before the war in papers like *L'Action Française, Gringoire,* and others. One of the features of the new law is that infractions of it are punishable by fines so great (up to a million francs, plus expenses, in some instances) that offending journals expose themselves to the possible seizure of their plants or capital. It is clearly up to the defendant to prove the truth of his statements—this was not the case in the law of 1881—but truth may not be offered as defense in cases involving the plaintiff's private life, facts going back more than ten years, or alleged offenses covered by amnesty, rehabilitation, or reversal. The term *"diffamation"* is carefully defined so as to give maximum protection; scurrilous abuse is also forbidden. The original law of 1881, *"la loi Jules Ferry,"* which embodies basic republican guaranties, begins with the words, *"L'imprimerie et la librairie sont libres."* This fundamental principle is not modified but rather fortified and protected in the new legislation, which was accompanied by a measure abolishing all but military censorship in time of war.

In the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* for July 8 appeared a further series of laws regulating all media of information—radio, cinema, and press—during the period of liberation. Full control of these media will temporarily be exercised by the government. As regards the press, a law of June 22 provides that all newspapers which had obeyed the directives of the occupying power or of the "de facto authority calling itself the government of the French State" will, as the territory is liberated, cease publication and will be placed in public custody. All existing press organizations or unions will be dissolved outright. In their place regional press and information committees, with members representing the Ministry of Information, the resistance movement, and the newspaper trade unions, will be formed to supervise the creation of new publications, grant licenses to publish, and keep the Ministry informed on all matters concerning the press in the various regions. The local committees will be affiliated with a national one of approximately the same composition.

But it is the "Law of June 22, 1944, concerning the distribution of news in the territory of France in the course of its liberation," which has created the greatest stir abroad. This law provides that the government-subsidized news agency, the recently formed *Agence Française de Presse,* will alone be authorized to distribute news inside France during this period, unless the Commissioner of Information decrees otherwise for particular regions. In short, foreign agencies (or any other French agency, for that matter) will not be allowed to deal directly with French newspapers but will be obliged to use A. F. P. facilities for the distribution of news inside France. Little wonder that there was such a storm of criticism! Indeed, Mr. Kuh reports in the dispatch cited above that "with the tacit support of the Associated Press, Britain's leading news agency, Reuter, has now strongly protested to the French administration." There is no doubt that these established agencies, already operating with the Allied forces, hoped to get in on the ground floor in France with little or no local opposition. The law in question, however, gives assurance that there will at least *be* a French agency.

Drastic as the law may seem, there is no doubt that without it an independent French news agency would be impossible. M. Henri Bonnet, in a press conference held in Algiers some six weeks ago, explained why. The A. F. P., he said, will soon be turned into a cooperative belonging to the French newspapers themselves, according to the decree of July 21. But, he added, such an agency can function and live independently of government subsidies and control only when the French newspapers themselves again become going concerns. Pointing out the strictly temporary character of the law, M. Bonnet explained that just as soon as conditions become normal in France full liberty will be given any French or foreign news agency wishing to operate in France. But French newspapers—and France itself—will by then possess at least one agency of their own. The French government, he concluded, is not only willing but anxious to cooperate with other nations to the end that the peace treaty shall contain provisions preventing any obstacle to the free and reciprocal exchange and circulation of news throughout the world.

Thus the French government categorically rejects the formula of a permanent official news agency on the model of Havas or pre-war Reuter. Reuter itself has now become the property of the British press, the shares formerly held by the government plus some new ones having been sold to the newspapers. Havas exercised in pre-war France a virtual monopoly not only of news but of advertising, so that its demise is a double blessing. Furthermore, in discussing the efforts of the French government to insure a healthy press for France, it should not be forgotten, I think, that even in this country we have our troubles. The anti-trust action brought against the Associated Press by the Chicago *Sun* and the refusal of our agencies to carry political news unpleasing to the authorities—as, for example, news of the activities of the Italian partisans figuring in General Alexander's communiqués—should save us from a holier-than-thou attitude.

The remainder of the new French laws concerning the press contain various provisions, the most important of which oblige journals to make public their sources of income and the true names of their directors and backers. Taken as a whole, this legislation represents a significant advance toward a free and liberal press regime.

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Pennsylvania's G.O.P. Is Worried

BY F. G. L.

THE Republican leaders of Pennsylvania are not glowing with optimism over the prospects of winning with Dewey. They don't know whether the election is worth a real fight this year. And the corporations which finance Republican victories in Pennsylvania are not overjoyed at the prospect of a Dewey victory. They are torn between a desire to take over and a fear that the Dewey forces don't begin to measure up to the job of taking over for them.

On the other hand, the Democratic leaders are sniffing victory, and they promise to put on a show reminiscent of the way they cracked forty-four years of Republican rule when they elected George Earle Governor of Pennsylvania in 1935.

The Democratic leaders have the encouragement of two previous Roosevelt victories in Pennsylvania. They believe the people haven't changed. The Republican leaders have only their old standard method of winning elections.

In the earlier editions of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" the character of Pennsylvania Republican politics is recorded. It has attained the status of a legend. And this legend has more of truth in it than most legends. It reads thus:

> On the political side, the chief feature of the state's history after the Civil War was the growth of the Cameron-Quay-Penrose political machine, founded by Simon Cameron, strengthened by his son James Donald Cameron, and continued under Matthew Stanley Quay and Boies Penrose, down to the time of the latter's death in 1921. It was based upon the control of patronage, the distribution of state funds, the support of the Pennsylvania Railway and other powerful corporations, and upon the ability to persuade the electors that it was necessary to vote the strict Republican ticket to save the protective system.

You must read into this legend that the support of Pennsylvania corporations means the huge slush funds with which the corruption of the ballot is accomplished. And the euphemistic "persuade the electors" means wholesale vote-buying and the bribing of election officials—both Republican and Democratic—so that cemetery tombstones, horses, and absentee electors may be voted.

Pennsylvania politics hasn't changed much since the piece was originally written for the "Britannica." Penrose, Quay, and Vare have passed on. They are looked upon by the present heirs of the Republican Party as crude and, if anything, a shade less effective than the present-day leadership.

Under the new leadership the corruption of the ballot has been perfected almost to a fine art. The corruptors are eminently respectable and would raise an eyebrow at the suggestion that they might have had something to do with the purchase of the margins of victory. The good church people could hold their noses at Penrose and Vare, and vote for their candidates anyway. But today they don't hold their noses, and they call the successors of these earlier political gangsters Mister, and they ring the church bells for their candidates on Election Day. And some of the most important pewholders are also officers of the corporations that provide the slush for corrupting the ballot.

There is a body of habitual Republican voters in Pennsylvania about equal to the habitual Democrats, and a large body of "independent" voters. The independents are divided into three groups—honest men, including many of the farmers, who think their interests lie generally with a Republican administration; a progressive remnant of the Pinchot followers, who continue their Republican registration but usually vote Democratic; and the wraiths and floaters and inmates of county homes and jails, who are usually taken from one polling place to another on Election Day to be voted as often as may be needed to make the margin of victory secure. There are still some few districts overlorded by feudal industrialists who force their employees to be registered as Republicans and then intimidate them on Election Day. Their numbers, however, are growing smaller each year, and they don't make much difference in a Presidential election.

The Republican edge on registration amounts to about 600,000. But a good half of that edge is composed of the real independent voters who determine elections, and the rest are probably faked registrations.

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One other factor exercises some considerable influence in Pennsylvania elections at times. The Democratic Party in Pennsylvania has more than its share of "practical" politicians whose influence can be bought every time these practical ones think they can get more out of a Republican victory than a Democratic victory. They have a considerable nuisance value, for, usually by grace of Republican patronage, they are in positions where they can connive with Republican officials to corrupt the ballot. Their stooges serve as Democratic election officials. They are regular only often enough to blackmail a place for themselves in the party councils, and thereby keep themselves in a position to exploit any little friction within the party. And they are used by the opposition to assassinate the character of Democratic candidates who won't play ball with the Republican machines. But the Republican moneybags always pay them much more than they're worth.

To play an important part in a Pennsylvania election, issues must cut deeply into the body politic. And the candidates must capture the imagination of the people. Roosevelt succeeded twice in carrying Pennsylvania. He did so because the New Deal meant something to the cast-offs of Pennsylvania's ruthless industrialists, and those industrialists couldn't or wouldn't put up enough money to buy the margin of victory.

In the 1944 elections the issues cut deep enough to make a difference. Roosevelt doesn't hypnotize the voters, which accounts for his small margin in the polls of public sentiment. But the people overwhelmingly want a secure peace this time, and they want a stable economy after the war, and they realize that they haven't a chance of either with Dewey.

The Republican leaders know this. They aren't sure they can buy up enough votes or steal enough votes to bridge the gap necessary for victory. The corporations are afflicted with the out-of-state sentiment which the realists say is definitely anti-Dewey—so much so that they don't believe he can win even if he carries Pennsylvania. With such an attitude, they are not proposing to throw their money away.

Dewey has been a most uninspiring candidate for the Republican leaders. One of the most important men in Joe Pew's camp came back from Chicago convinced that the Republicans had thrown away the chance of victory for the mere prospect of getting New York's electoral votes. He suggests that with a strong platform Dewey might be elected, but he can't see a phony platform and a "trimmer" standing on such a platform. And one of Grundy's men has already passed out the word to his local organization that the game isn't worth a fight this time and they should concentrate their efforts on holding their organization together.

The Democratic leadership is united at the top. Dave Lawrence and Joe Guffey are practically inseparable these days, in spite of the fact that Guffey covered himself with glory in his fight for Wallace while Lawrence carried a third of the Pennsylvania delegation for Truman. Both are working hard to get their followers to stop fighting each other during the campaign.

The Democrats are happy because they are completely convinced that the margin of purchasable votes is negligible this year, and the price is higher than it ever was. They are convinced that the CIO Political Action Committee will be a big help in getting the voters registered. And when the voters are registered, the Democrats know that the margin always swings in their favor. One high state leader of the Democrats says the CIO Political Action Committee will choke off the Republican victory at its source. For, he says, a man who will put up his own money to help in an election won't go out and sell his vote on Election Day, and he won't sit at home.

This particular leader says that if the Democrats win Pennsylvania, it will be the result of the CIO Political Action Committee. Until a few weeks ago, however, he was fearful that the Committee in Pennsylvania wouldn't show much action. After the pep meeting held in Harrisburg on July 29, he changed his mind.

The Republicans have been banking on a strong protest vote from the farmers of Pennsylvania. It must be admitted that until very recently there has been a lot of dissatisfaction among the farmers. They have had to buy feed in the black market. They have paid excessive prices for it. But they have bought most of that feed from other farmers, and they know it. With the harvests well under way, they are realizing heavy returns from the crops, and some of the talk has switched from complaints about the high price of feed to 35-cent wheat and 87-cent milk and 12-cent eggs. Most of the bitterness about selective service has disappeared, probably because their own sons are in the fight. In early June a trip through one farming

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district convinced me that the farm vote would be overwhelmingly against the Administration. A return trip in late July indicated that there is a swing away from bitter complaint to considerable satisfaction with the way things are going. So the protest vote from the farmers is likely to be much less than has been expected.

Reports coming to me from the coal regions indicate that so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, the miners will not follow John L. Lewis into the Republican camp. In the anthracite region they are needling John L. Lewis whenever they get a chance. They'd like him to threaten to resign if they don't support him.

Pennsylvania's much-touted "best soldier-vote law" is still extremely difficult of administration. It is doubtful whether half of Pennsylvania's soldiers will be able to vote or will be concerned about voting. While the soldier vote from Pennsylvania may favor Roosevelt, I am inclined to believe that most of the soldier voting will be done by those who were active in politics before entering the service, and this vote will be strictly on party lines without regard for the issues.

I believe the optimism of the Democratic leaders is warranted. I don't believe the Republicans can obtain the margin of victory even if the corporations loosen up with the cash. I believe the CIO Political Action Committee and other independent groups which are forming in various parts of the state will more than offset anything the Republicans can do. I believe Roosevelt will carry Pennsylvania by a good safe margin.

But the Democratic leaders are not very optimistic about winning a Congressional majority in the state. The Reapportionment Act of 1943 gerrymandered districts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, throwing large Democratic majorities into a few districts at the expense of districts where the Democratic majority was small. Even though they expect to carry Philadelphia and Pittsburgh for Roosevelt, the Democratic leaders think they will be lucky to hold their own in the Congressional fight in these cities. They expect to pick up a Congressman in the 21st district, comprising York, Adams, and Franklin counties, a combination of industrial and rural areas, and one in the 12th district, comprising the anthracite-mining Luzerne County. They believe a Roosevelt victory in the state might bring in two more Congressmen, in Erie and Cambria counties.

The crucial contest will be between Jim Davis and Francis Myers for the Senate. Even with Roosevelt leading, Davis can pull away from the trend. He is well-known in every corner of the commonwealth. Myers, on the other hand, is obscure. He has an excellent voting record in Congress, he is able, he is a good campaigner, but he is unknown, and up to the present the Democratic leaders have done little to get him before the people.

[*Future articles in this series on key states will deal with Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio.*]

In the Wind

AMONG THE INVITATIONS in the morning's mail is a post card that reads in part as follows: "If you are a Native Born, White, Protestant, Gentile, American Citizen of Good Character and believe in our principles, an opportunity to join a secret organization that stands primarily for WHITE SUPREMACY awaits you. Our Organization stands for: Christianity. America First. White Supremacy. Upholding Constitution of U.S.A. Racial Segregation. Racial Purity. Pure White Womanhood. American Leadership of American Labor Unions. Closer Relationship Between American Capital and American Labor. Opposition to Communism. America for Americans. State Rights. Separation of Church and State. Freedom of Speech and Press. No Foreign Immigration, Except Pure White. Law and Order." It is at such times that one regrets not being of Good Character.

JOHN B. TREVOR, president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, whose name appeared in a list of "leaders" recommended for America by a German propaganda agency in 1933, is now campaigning against the admission of anti-Nazi refugees to America. Senator Robert Rice Reynolds of North Carolina is helping him distribute his literature.

RADIO STATION WQXR, New York, having refused to accept any more singing commercials, has received a flood of thanks from its listeners.

SOME IMPERTURBABLE BRITONS are busy with plans to preserve the relics of Roman and medieval times which robot bombs have unearthed in London.

SENATOR WALSH of Massachusetts, asked by a number of constituents to state his views on American participation in an international organization to enforce peace, said, "A nation which does not pursue peace . . . will find soon enough that it is involved in the wars of other nations." He enclosed a speech of his, delivered November 11, 1943, in which he expressed the belief that this is not our war.

THE CITY OF LOUISVILLE, KY., paid $5,000 to Roy Wenzlick, one of the nation's top real-estate analysts, for a report on post-war city planning. It contains the following note on slum clearance: "The logical solution to the housing problem is to build new housing units for those who can afford to pay an economic rent. As these housing units become older and less desirable, the original owners or renters move to more modern and better located properties, leaving the older properties to be occupied by those who cannot pay a sufficient rental for new buildings."

FESTUNG EUROPA: As a solution of the fuel shortage in Holland, the Nazi administration has issued an order proclaiming that "removal of chips or pieces of wood left over from the construction of German army installations will be regarded as theft from the Wehrmacht and will be punished as such."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Europe's Wandering Jews—and Others

BY LEWIS S. GANNETT

London, August 27, by Cable

AN IMPOSING-LOOKING parliament of thirty-two nations met in London last week as the "Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees." It heard a report from its chairman, Sir Herbert Emerson, former High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, enlarged its executive committee to include Soviet Russia, adopted a constitution, and set up a new committee of experts to deal with travel documents for hundreds of thousands of refugees who will emerge from the war with neither homes nor passports nor even a recognized nationality. In the course of its discussions the word Jew was seldom heard and the word Palestine never.

The fact is that despite all the hullabaloo about organization this international body will have little to do with the immediate problem of probably twenty million human beings in Europe described in official language as "displaced persons." Set up at Evian in 1938 to help political and racial groups get out of Germany, the Intergovernmental Committee's first job virtually ceased upon the declaration of war. It was reorganized after the Bermuda conference in April, 1943, with a larger field. It has since acted as a sort of international clearing house for such official organizations as the American War Refugee Board and such voluntary organizations as the American Friends Service Committee and the Joint Distribution Committee, aiding the emergency rescue operations of the Jews trickling out of Hitler's *Festung Europa* into Spain, Switzerland, or Turkey.

Reorganized again, its function is redefined as principally dealing with the third and ultimate stage of the refugee problem when those who have homes to go to have reached them, immediate relief has been provided, and the residue of uncertain numbers is left to be sent no one today knows whither. Then the Intergovernmental Committee will act as successor to the old Nansen Committee, which issued papers for "stateless persons," then principally White Russians.

Meanwhile the expectation in London is that some eighty million people in Europe will soon start walking home and at least twelve million more will wait for official aid. "Unorganized trekkers" is the official word for the walkers, who are expected to clog the roads, go hungry, and enormously complicate the official program. The task of helping them will be primarily the army's. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, does not approve of unorganized trekkers. It regards them as a certain interference with transportation, a probable menace to health, and a possible police problem. Its Civil Affairs Department, headed by the able Major General Allen Gullion, U. S. A., with a joint Anglo-American staff, intends to assume immediate control of the problem; when the United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will get into the picture, if at all, is anybody's guess. UNRRA has liaison officers with the army but no direct authority, and it is believed that the army will retain control for a minimum of six months.

The army has assembled all available studies of displacements of the population of Europe, tabulated and charted them, and printed twenty-five million each of two types of registration cards—three hundred tons of cards alone—for what, fond of alphabetic symbols, it calls "DPs"—displaced persons.

According to these studies at least eight million foreigners are now in Germany doing semi-slave labor in factories and on farms. About half of these are in the eastern region, for which presumably Russia will be primarily responsible. In the territory which Britain and America are likely to control there are, the army reckons, 700,000 Belgians, one-tenth of the entire population of the country and close to half the adult male population; also about 150,000 Dutch, 650,000 Frenchmen, 200,000 Italians, 130,000 Yugoslavs, 110,000 Greeks, 700,000 Czechs, 1,500,000 Poles, more than 1,250,000 Russians, and small numbers of Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgars, Danes, and Norwegians. Also there are more millions in the satellite countries, some of whom may have been withdrawn into Germany before it collapses.

Some DPs, working close to the borders, will get somewhere under their own steam. The army program, however, is not to permit mass migrations along roads which the military will need but to collect and concentrate DPs of Allied nationalities into assembly centers, whence they may be transferred after screening to reception centers, where they will become the responsibility of their own governments.

At the assembly centers DPs will be registered, their previous homes and desired destinations recorded. They will be medically examined, checked for military security, and, if in order, given visas for return home. They will be given pre-numbered identification cards about the size of Social Security cards, and when transportation is available will be sent to the reception centers in their own countries.

A small try-out has already been made in parts of

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France, where the refugees were collected by our army in assembly centers and promptly transferred to dispersal centers operated by French officials. But the army differentiates such "refugees" displaced within the borders of their own countries from "DPs" who will try to cross the frontiers.

The army belief is that its organization, fresh from its experience with the greatest logistics operation in history, is infinitely better prepared to deal with a gigantic movement of peoples than any civilian organization, official or unofficial, could be.

UNRRA had developed a large program of its own but the army has definitely assumed the responsibility for the first stage. The Czechs have formally agreed to cooperate with the army system of registration and transfer. The other exile governments have indicated their approval. Enormous supplies will be needed—if registration cards weigh three hundred tons, the tonnage of food required will be astronomic—but the army believes it has sufficient reserves. Initial supplies may be lifted by air, as has been done with the advancing armies.

The army does not regard Spanish refugees who were in France before the war, and are still there, as a military responsibility; it will leave their care to the French government and to private agencies.

While millions of Germans have been "displaced" to satellite countries during the war, the army believes that most of these will have been withdrawn close to the German borders before the war ends. Civilian Germans will be assembled and returned to Germany by a similar process and then will become the responsibility of whatever German authorities may exist.

After six months the army believes the bulk of the job will be done and mopping-up operations can be transferred to UNRRA, which likewise has a six-month relief and rehabilitation plan, presumably on a far smaller scale than that envisaged in the earlier stages of its existence before the army clarified its views of civilian operations in the military zone. What UNRRA can do will depend on what the army does first. Its planning problem is obviously extremely difficult. The army is likely to turn to it as soon as individual problems differentiate themselves from mass movements, as in the case of a couple whose former home in Poland was burned, whose passports were lost, who cannot prove their nationality, who have cousins in Palestine, children in the United States, and no jobs anywhere.

The Intergovernmental Committee comes back into the picture after the army and UNRRA have done the preliminary jobs. Although the army's registration cards provide for optional registration of religion, the army does not regard Jews as a separate problem. Its job is a mass-production one of returning people to the countries of their origin. UNRRA will do a further sifting, but there will remain a desperate residue of hundreds of thousands, possibly more, who don't want or will not be permitted to return to their pre-war homes. General assurances have been given by most exile governments that they will accept former residents regardless of nationality, but some have different ideas as to what constitutes residence; also, many people who in the course of Hitler's mad careening became almost professional refugees, fleeing from one land to another and then still another, may be stranded without recognized homes. New frontiers will further complicate the picture, notably for those Poles who were displaced westward during the war and may not wish to return under Russian sovereignty. Millions of Jews forcibly transferred to new ghettos by the Nazi regime and others who have found temporary haven in North Africa will have nothing to return to that they can call homes.

Here will be the major sphere of the Intergovernmental Committee. Its recent plenary session formed a technical sub-committee to study a new form of passports for "stateless" persons, a problem complicated enough but simple in comparison with the problem of finding homes for them.

The ultimate destination of the stateless is a delicate, difficult, probably endless problem. In some circles there has been sharp criticism of the Intergovernmental Committee because it included no representative of any Jewish group. It invited some thirty Jewish bodies, including relief committees as well as the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to attend the session without the right to participate. Nobody was asked to present the ideas of the Jews at its sessions. Palestine wasn't mentioned. The answer is that the Intergovernmental Committee is an intergovernmental committee. Its success is dependent on the cooperation of member governments. It cannot have a policy of its own. It can only explore possibilities, suggest, and administer when national policies are clear.

Whenever in the past the international conscience has been outraged by the plight of the Jews, the answer has been to reorganize the Intergovernmental Committee, thus suggesting that something is about to be done. The real answer is not a new kind of committee but havens for Jews. From a European perspective America, usually generous with money, always vocal in demanding a modification of the Palestine immigration policy, might show a more realistic generosity by modifying its own immigration policy. A free port for one thousand Jews, who are expected to return to devastated Europe after the war, doesn't seem a large contribution. Pressure for the liberalization of the Palestine policy should help, but it might be more effective if it were accompanied by the recognition of American opportunity. The present likelihood seems to be that a year hence the world, including America, will wake up to the fact that emergency measures are only emergency measures and possibly a million Jews will still be homeless.

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Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Bias in the Phrasing of Questions

ONE way polls make propaganda is in the selection of what questions are to be asked when. To ask: "Should Candidate Jones return the money he stole from the townspeople?" just before election would obviously help his opponents. Professional pride tends to keep the phrasing of questions and the statistical methods scientifically acceptable most of the time. Questions of the "have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife?" type are rare. A much more difficult kind of bias to cope with is the choice of questions which in terms of the expected response must embarrass one party.

With this problem in mind, we have analyzed the questions raised by two national polls during the months of May, June, and July of this year. The Gallup Poll (American Institute of Public Opinion) published results on twenty-seven questions not directly concerned with candidates, nominations, or voting. Each question was independently evaluated by five public-opinion specialists. They rated sixteen of the twenty-seven as genuinely neutral—those dealing with such issues as beer on navy ships, Germany's plans for another war, the shortage of victory gardens, and the desirability of holding the line on prices and wages. (The omission of profits from that last question is noteworthy and perhaps not wholly neutral.)

Ten of the remaining eleven Gallup questions were judged as probably helpful to the Republican side. Only one question was considered to be the sort of thing the Democrats would like to have publicized to help their campaign. This was, "If a new Council or Union of Nations is formed after the war to take the place of the old League of Nations, should this country join?" (Yes, 72 per cent.)

Ten of the eleven questions might well have been welcomed by the Republican National Committee. The reader may judge for himself whether raising these questions at this time and publicizing the results in headlines would not tend, in effect, to discredit the Roosevelt regime: (1) What do you think of the travels of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt? (Approved, 36 per cent; disapproved, 45 per cent); (2) From what you know about this case, which side are you more inclined to think in the right, Montgomery Ward or the government? (Montgomery Ward, 60 per cent); (3) Do you think there is need for a law to prevent strikes in war industries? (Yes, 70 per cent); (4) Is there any particular plank which you would like your party to include in its platform in the coming Presidential election? (Only the suggestions offered for the Republican Party's platform were published.)

The other questions dealt with recognition of the De Gaulle government, Administration restrictions on hiring power, a two-term Presidency limitation, the effect of CIO support on a candidate's chances, Soviet Russia's trustworthiness, and the South's one-party system. All these were questions presumably embarrassing to the Democrats. Similar questions on the opposite side might be: "Would the fact that isolationists support Mr. Dewey affect your attitude toward him?" "Would the fact that most big-business men support a candidate influence your vote?"

The present analysis does not impugn the Gallup Poll's sincerity or its desire to be fair. It is not Gallup's fault if the government had a publicity problem in the Montgomery Ward case. Criticism of the Administration's action is apt to be more newsworthy than approval. Questions whose import is hostile toward the Democrats might be asked without premeditation.

Questions asked by the *Fortune* (Roper) poll during the same period are not really comparable to Gallup's. They were designed to provide information for *Fortune's* "management" readers rather than to make newspaper headlines. One-third of them were asked only of business men.

Of the eighteen queries *Fortune's* interviewers put to a sample of the general public, fifteen were found by the judges to be helpful to neither side in the election. The other three seemed likely to help the Republicans because of special circumstances. One asked people to name "special groups you feel had too much influence over Congress in the past year or so" at a time when the CIO's Political Action Committee was in the headlines. The second was a question about whether unions ought to "put on campaigns themselves for the election of a particular national candidate." The absence of a parallel question about corporations or business pressure groups makes the poll's fairness doubtful.

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50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ELECTION IN ARKANSAS on Monday was the first in which a certificate of the payment of a poll-tax was made a prerequisite to voting. "In consequence," says a despatch from Little Rock, "the Negro was practically eliminated from the contest." . . . If a Mahone ever turns up in Arkansas with a campaign fund of $25,000 or $50,000, the Negro vote will not be so thoroughly eliminated as it was on Monday. It may even happen, as it did in Virginia, that the poll-taxes of the blacks are more generally paid than those of the whites, and the Arkansas Democrats may finally feel constrained, as did those of Virginia, to repeal the tax law for the sake of their party.—*September 6, 1894.*

THE RECORD of railway accidents is humiliating. During the year, 2,727 employees and 299 passengers were killed, and 31,729 employees and 3,229 passengers were injured. Collisions, derailments, and accidents at stations account for the injuries and deaths of passengers. Employees were killed and injured principally by coupling cars and falling from trains, making a seriously large total.—*September 6, 1894.*

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM adopted at Saratoga last week was evidently written by a common scold. It denounces about one thousand facts and tendencies which it observes in the Democratic Party, without saying, however, what the Republicans would do or ought to do if they had the power.—*September 27, 1894.*

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

Hitler's Last Alibi

HERR FRIEDRICH HILDEBRAND, Gauleiter of Mecklenburg, assembled the Nazi Party leaders of his district on August 7 and imparted to them this information:

> A new phase of the National Socialist Revolution has now begun. Certain elements who have always been furiously hostile to our party, without, however, admitting it publicly, will be dealt with. Our Führer did not want to settle accounts with these negative forces in our midst until after the war. But now, thanks to the events of July 20, a new phase of the National Socialist Revolution has begun.

The leading Socialist organ of Switzerland, the *Berner Tagwacht,* published on August 15 an account of a conference in which Himmler, Dr. Ley, and General Sepp Dietrich, head of the Elite Guards, are supposed to have participated. At this conference it was decided "to initiate an extreme left-wing policy, liquidating all capitalistic tendencies and even the capitalists and Junkers within the Nazi Party." Actually, the dispatch adds, this "extreme left-wing policy" was already in full force when the conference was held: "Indescribable terror reigns in Germany against all those connected with the nobility and high finance."

It must be said that there has been thus far almost no concrete and reliable information concerning the details of this "new phase of the Nazi Revolution." Never has Germany been more nearly hermetically sealed than since the alleged attempt on Hitler's life. The names of the arrested, the executed, the deposed, and those who are being shadowed by the police are known only to the extent that they have been given out by the Ministry of Propaganda—and aside from those of a dozen or so members of the "small clique of traitorous officers" and the former mayor of Leipzig, Dr. Goerdeler, it has given out no names. An exception is the official announcement in Silesia that the Baron Palombini, a large landowner of that province, and his wife were arrested for allegedly harboring the fugitive Dr. Goerdeler, and that "the Palombini estates were immediately confiscated." And for unknown reasons it has been officially announced, for foreign consumption, that in Breslau a "former chairman of the commission of experts," one Professor Buhtz, "has been killed by mistake."

Even without details, however, it is absolutely certain that countless people have been sacrificed, all lumped together under the general heading of "big scoundrels." "There are continuous arrests of aristocrats in all large cities," said the *Arbeiter Zeitung* published in the Swiss border town of Schaffhausen on August 11; "they disappear and no one knows where they have been taken." The *Journal de Genève* reported on August 7: "Leading industrialists in Leipzig and Dresden, and also students of a military school, have been arrested. It is believed that they are being held as hostages." The *St. Galler Tagblatt* added, "A special concentration camp for officers has been opened in Spandau near Berlin." And the *Weltwoche* of Zurich said on August 18, "Hundreds of leading figures in Germany's economic life are no longer alive today or are being held in 'protective custody.' "

But if all these stories of the operation of the "left-wing spirit" are lacking in specific detail, at least the trend of the propaganda is clear. The tone was set by Dr. Ley. Two days after the alleged attempt on Hitler's life he dismissed the idea that only a "small clique of officers" was guilty and turned his attack on a much larger objective. The new line first appeared in an article by him in the *Angriff* of July 22—and it is to be noted that all the correspondents in Berlin agree that this article created as great a sensation among ordinary German newspaper readers and radio listeners as the alleged attempt itself. "Ley's article," said the Stockholm *Aftonbladet,* "caused a tremendous sensation in Berlin and was the chief topic of conversation in all circles." Ley fulminated not only against "some officers" but against the whole "blue-blooded, dirty, idiotic, criminal aristocracy." This is what he said about the "degenerate, conceited, idling, senile clique of reaction":

> These reactionaries thought that they could again raise their heads. But now at last they will learn that their time is up. This clique must be uprooted. It is not enough to seize the individual perpetrators of this crime; the entire brood must be eliminated. Every German must know that if he conspires against Germany in writing, in talk, or in deed, his family must die. His family as well as he himself must die. The destruction of this blasted clique means more than a battle won.

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Since that day Dr. Ley's tune has been played, with a hundred variations, on all the instruments at the disposal of the Nazi Party. On July 24 the *Völkischer Beobachter* said, "The public feels instinctively that the conspiracy emanates from those reactionary circles which want to deprive the German people of their social gains and again deliver them up to exploitation by a small clique." The press has outdone itself with articles on that theme.

In the official report of the "trial" of the eight officers who were hanged, the accused figured in the tirades of the prosecutor and the judge not as individuals, hardly even as officers, but as "typical reactionaries." Such abuse of the upper classes is now resorted to on the most far-fetched pretexts.

The Gauleiter of Silesia, Karl Henke, regaled a mass meeting in Breslau with the theatrical story of how an "aristocratic scoundrel," one Graf von Dagenfeld, the military commandant of the province, had ordered the arrest of all the Nazi provincial leaders so that he and his "reactionary gang" could usurp all official positions. And on July 30 the *Preussischen Zeitung* of East Prussia published a diatribe entitled "The End of the Reactionary Rats," which was reprinted all over Germany. It should have considerable historical interest. It traced the "nefarious undermining activities of the reactionary elements" since the first days of the dictatorship. From the very beginning, it said, "the eternally retrograde Junkers and their allies in the clubs, in the restaurants, and at hunting dinners sniped at the laws and decrees of the new state." As early as 1933 there was a seditious movement in Hanover, "led by the landowner Lesmann von Oberg, which had to be stamped out." There was a *Stahlhelm* conspiracy; there were monarchist organizations of every conceivable type, which always laid their plans in cooperation "with certain Paris, Moscow, and London circles." But now they are finished! Through their "lack of instinct, their undignified and almost ridiculous jingoism (*sic!*), their jobbery and disloyalty," these "reactionary rats" have dug their own grave. The Nazi state left them "their lives, their property, and their titles"—but now its patience is at an end!

It is easy to contrive any number of theories as to the motives behind this campaign. The most obvious explanation is that the dying Nazi Party is making a desperate effort to win the greatest possible popularity with the greatest possible number. Also, the need for a scapegoat is presumably a factor; and they may have decided that the more the party is remembered for its "leftism" the better will be the chances of resurrecting it at some future time. But more important than the question of motives is that of how far the Nazis will really go with their "new phase of the revolution" in the time they have left. Discussion of that question must wait for another time.

Inside the Fortress

BY GEROLD FRANK

Jerusalem, August 20, by Cable

IF YOU want to know first-hand how Germany's morale in *Festung Europa* is crumbling hour by hour, speak with the refugees arriving from the heart of Nazi Europe. Their stories present a picture of a terrified, overwhelmed people awaiting an inexorable fate.

The account of Bertha Aptowitzer, who arrived here yesterday under the auspices of the Jewish Agency, is typical. Miss Aptowitzer is twenty-three. For five months she was in a concentration camp at Bergenbelzen near Hanover, where there are seven thousand inmates, mostly Jews. She left the camp on July 15 for Palestine via Passau, Vienna, Budapest, Sofia, Istanbul. She says the morale of the Nazi guards and train employees is bitterly low. They actually did favors for the refugees, hoping to be remembered later and perhaps to soften reprisals. Fires started by Allied bombings were still burning in Budapest and the railroad station was a mass of ruins. Sofia had been badly bombed. Before her internment she passed through Bremen in daylight. The city was razed to the ground.

The strain the Nazis are undergoing is indicated by the type of work the inmates of the camp were assigned to do ten hours each day: (1) ripping apart civilian shoes so that the pieces might be used again for the military; (2) ripping apart worn military uniforms—obviously those of Germans killed in battle, for the bullet holes and bloodstains were still showing—so that the cloth could be used again. Both the shoe and uniform remnants were then packed in large sacks and later removed. This was the sole work of the thousands of inmates sitting at long tables in wooden barracks.

"The day of the Normandy invasion was terrible for the Nazis," Miss Aptowitzer said. "We were not permitted newspapers or radios, but we learned the news the same day. Two women who were cleaning the commandant's apartment saw a newspaper on the bed and read the headlines. I was working in the kitchen that day. We were careful about not talking, but our SS guard was so nervous that he shouted, 'Do you think that I don't see you are whispering to each other?' That night the guards for the first time carried rifles and helmets and set up machine-gun defenses. When we departed we were permitted to take 40 kilos of possessions each. One SS guard said, "Ah, if I could leave now I'd gladly go without anything.' " And, added Miss Aptowitzer with satisfaction, "One stout guard must have lost at least ten pounds worrying during the first week of the invasion."

I have spoken to scores of refugees from the Nazi fortress. No matter from what country they come they

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all agree. Germany has lost the war. The Nazis know it. They expect the Russian armies to be marching into Berlin before November.

Quislings After Defeat

BY T. ADAM

[*The following interview appeared originally in* La Turquie, *a French-language Turkish daily newspaper published in Istanbul. We offer it as an example of the strange fruits of Anglo-American foreign policy.*]

QUISLINGISM is a *mal de siècle*. It has its variations, as in Vichyism. Those who are afflicted by this illness are in no sense romantics in search of a dream world, but realists, in truth cynics, who want to maintain the status quo despite the changes which the world is witnessing today. Here is the confession of a Vichyite to a neutral observer during a conversation about recent events:

"You think, Monsieur, that I am a lost man who has played his last card. You think that I am an obstinate man who persists in a course which can lead to nothing. I played the German card and beat the Gaullists. Now the Germans are losing the war and the Gaullists are emerging triumphant, so you think that I have lost.

"You are making a profound error, Monsieur. With the defeat of Germany wonderful perspectives are open to Vichyism, whose principles and methods remain more than ever valid under the new conquerors. For the Anglo-Americans differ very little (save in style and temperament) from the Germans. After the Germans they will rule Europe, govern the Europeans not in the name of authority (this is not the Anglo-Saxon technique) but in the name of liberty, not by brute force (this is not the Anglo-Saxon temperament) but by economic and political restraints.

"England will finish one day by becoming dependent on America, with the result that America and Russia will dominate the world. The Gaullists have never understood that. They cherish the illusion of reviving a past forever gone, a past of the independence of nations. They believe that the Anglo-Saxons are going to allow Europe to live as free and independent states. Neither the statements of Marshal Smuts nor the projects of the AMG have opened their eyes. They are lost, definitely lost, because of their persistent devotion to the chimera of a new sovereign and powerful France. Their program does not correspond to that of the liberators, so they will of necessity be shunted aside—in fact they have already been shunted aside.

"The Gaullists' second mistake is to believe in the pledge given by Churchill in 1940 to reestablish the independence and grandeur of France. Even if Churchill wanted to keep his promise, he would not be able to do so, dependent as he is on Roosevelt. On the other hand the Gaullists have in mind a subjective picture of the Anglo-Saxons as idealists and romantics like themselves . . . only the uninformed can believe that the Anglo-Saxons could be anything but practical people with a vested interest. Look at the Spanish affair. Francoism, which aided the Axis so greatly (remember the promise of millions of Spanish bayonets which were to bar the route if Germany were menaced by invasion), is today honored, blessed, sanctified. Why? Because today it offers to the Allies the services which they are demanding of it. Only the present counts. The Gaullists make the fatal mistake of hypnotizing themselves with the past and creating illusions about the future.

"We Vichyites do not make the same mistake. We see very clearly. As soon as the liberators have need of us, we shall offer our hand and be saved like the Francoists. Besides, we understand the technique of collaboration. The Gaullists have never understood how to collaborate. They have been paralyzed by pretensions to equality and independence, while we know how to submit, serve, and obey. Five years of experience have taught us to understand the mentality of the conqueror and satisfy it. These methods are perfectly useful in relations with the Anglo-Saxons, since their goal is no different from that of the Germans: to dominate Europe, at least western Europe. The Gaullists embarrass and obstruct them in this aim.

"The Germans did not operate any differently, though perhaps awkwardly at times. They promised France a happy and prosperous future in the new German order once the war was over. Until then France was to show herself deserving of that honored place in the Europe of tomorrow by present contributions of workers, services, and soldiers. The Anglo-Saxons also promise France an independent life. But in the meantime she is not to obstruct the march of the Anglo-Saxons, and is not to have a real government even though she has the interests and rights of a community of 100 million inhabitants to defend.

"We shall bring to the liberators our methods, specialized personnel, and the temperament of collaborators. It is true that certain of us who have been too prominent will have to retire for a while—for example Pierre Laval, who will no doubt be fished out later and restored to power by Sir Samuel Hoare, his old friend of the Ethiopian affair. But we shall all remain on the spot and we will be effectively protected by the Anglo-Saxon armies (witness the reaction of the Allied press when the Gaullists dared to execute Pucheu and Cristofini). No, Monsieur, we are not at all lost. We are preparing to live a wonderful life."

For lack of space I must break off at this point the confession of an *enfant du siècle* who was carrying a brand-new English grammar in his pocket.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Mexican Workshop

Mexico City, August 18

THE Taller de Grafica Popular is a characteristically Mexican enterprise—a Workshop for Popular Graphic Art, or perhaps it would be better to say, Graphic Art for the People. It was founded some seven years ago by a group of the younger artists, all of them members of the famous League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists. Leopoldo Méndez and Alfredo Zalce were perhaps the main instigators. It was not to be a school, or a salesroom, but a workshop; and these artists wanted to work together not merely because presses are too expensive to own individually, but because they believed that cooperative work raises the stature of the individual artist.

So they set out to do printing for the people. They made handbills and notices for the workers' groups and the unions. They designed posters and wall-newspapers decorated with woodcuts in the good Mexican tradition of Posada, urging farmers to sell their grain to the cooperatives, wakening workers to the dangers of inflation. They printed *corridos,* wonderful illustrated ballads on current events, which would be sung in the far places of Mexico, to inform the people why the nation was at war, or why the trolley-car employees had to strike. To say that many of these were collectors' pieces is to miss the point. They were real; they were made by artists who were playing their part like men in a real world. They were also, miraculously, keeping themselves in food and clothing, and paying the rent of the Taller.

This summer Leopoldo Méndez made a new lithograph, for the annual Salón de Grabado of a private gallery in Mexico City, the Galería de Arte Decoración. It referred to the attempt on the life of Avila Camacho. In Leopoldo's graphic version, however, the disembodied form of assassination which thrusts out its pistol is not anonymous. The initials P. A. N. identify it as the Partido Acción Nacional, which we know more intimately as the Sinarquistas. The print was rejected, on technical grounds, although Leopoldo is easily the most brilliant lithographer in Mexico. He asked frankly whether the rejection had not been for political reasons, and got the admission that this was true. The jury disliked it, and the gallery director didn't feel that it was his place to take a stand on political questions.

Leopoldo took his lithographs back to the Taller, and all the other boys went and got theirs, too. The refugee artists withdrew what they had sent—who would know better than they that anyone who is not for us is against us? Two things became clear: the Salón de Grabado of 1944 was going to be pretty dull, and, secondly, there was material wasting for a fine exhibition of graphic arts. The Taller had lately moved into new quarters, and suddenly it became clear that the prints should be shown there, in the workshop, in the last weeks of August.

An even more interesting thing happened then. Everyone wanted to be in the protest exhibition. Painters who had never worked in the graphic arts came to the Taller and took away stones to make lithographs for the show. A few topical prints, like a group of jury-faced monkeys called "Los Changos Vaciladores," were run off in sheer exuberance. Siqueiros, not to be left out, made a lithograph after his new mural. Even the Old Guard, so long isolated from the younger men, Orozco and Diego Rivera, sent prints. "The works collected in this exhibition," the catalogue said "constitute a demonstration of the solidarity of their authors against any anti-democratic discrimination in art." It constituted also a demonstration of the vitality of an art which refuses to be cut off from life.

For the purely aesthetic consequences of this exhibition promise to be excellent. The boys can hardly wait to get the exhibition down and the public out, so that they can work again in their workshop. The painters, stimulated by their excursion into the graphic technique, are eager to work there too. A portfolio on the "Drama of the War" has been projected as a collective enterprise for the Taller—an event of first importance in the graphic arts. "This whole thing has the feeling of steps ahead," an artist says. "The exhibition was not important as mere publicity—not even merely as an historical event. It is important because we stood together, and now we will work together: there is a regeneration of that cooperative spirit of the early mural-painting days." "It is important because in our own way we took a shot at the Sinarquistas," another one responds gloomily, adding a suitable epithet.

ELIZABETH WILDER

Pertinax on France

THE GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE. By Pertinax. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $6.

AT THE moment when the civilized world rejoices in France's liberation, a truly great work has appeared explaining why it fell. "The Gravediggers of France" is the English version of two volumes published last year by the most distinguished and best informed of all French newspapermen, André Géraud, who for more than thirty years signed his columns in the *Echo de Paris,* and since 1938 in *L'Europe Nouvelle,* with the pen name Pertinax.

In six hundred illuminating and disturbing pages the author not only analyzes the military, political, and moral collapse as seen in the acts and policies of those chiefly responsible for it: Gamelin, Daladier, Reynaud, Pétain; but gives a detailed cross-section of France viewed in historical perspective. It is the vast range of political consideration which makes this book unique. For without the knowledge of the profound fissure existing in French national life, American readers would find it difficult to understand how and why a relatively few men could exploit a moment of mortal peril to dig the grave of 1940.

For a century and a half, "two Frances which lost no love on each other have lived side by side. . . . Under varying

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battle flags, those of the King, of the church, and of the Bonaparte pretender . . . strong minorities always fought against the republican idea, against parliamentary democracy," writes Pertinax. But in the past these minorities had never faltered in their patriotic duty. In the stormy period following 1934, years when "the great Fear" of social change haunted the well-to-do, "it is not so sure that many did not look with indifference at an eventual military disaster."

The author rightly differentiates between men like Gamelin, "at his wit's end" after the swift German break-through; Daladier, "dictator in spite of himself"; the "broken mechanical toy Reynaud"; and the infinitely more contemptible figures of Pétain and Laval. The first three sinned through weakness. Their intentions were good, though Gamelin led his armies to disaster, Daladier's spineless sloth outmatched his inconsistencies, and Reynaud, beset by defeatists, shirked action and frittered the war's last decisive days on "heroic incantations." But for the artificers of the National Revolution the armistice "was a means . . . a means attained by deceit . . . toward a supreme end, reshaping their country from its foundations."

Pertinax ruthlessly destroys the Pétain "myth" fostered by Allied diplomats in the "Vichy Kremlin." From his timidity and defeatism at Verdun to his last ignoble command on D-day, that the French nation "loyally stand by the German army," the old marshal is shown as a vainglorious, narrow-minded bigot, convinced that France was lost in a maze of atheism and Marxism and that only through defeat could the virtuous *ancien régime* be restored.

More than anyone else, Pertinax blames Pétain—Inspector-General of the Army—for the inadequacies of the French forces, giving chapter and verse of his reductions of appropriations for armaments, fortifications, and reserves. But it was when Reynaud made him Vice-Premier in the War Council in the fatal May of 1940 that his "duplicity" became evident. For it was then that he paved the way for the most dubious elements in French politics. Laval had long since made the old man his "docile tool"—Laval, whom Pertinax terms the leader of the Fifth Column. But there was another sinister faction surrounding the dotard, which by egregious flattery and cunning had succeeded in making him the dictator of its choice. This was a group of Treasury officials, big industrialists, bankers, some of them the spearhead of Nazi economic penetration in France—Baudouin, Bouthillier, Barnaud, Leroy-Ladurie, Pierre Pucheu—names almost unknown in public affairs until they all figured prominently in Pétain's first Cabinet. It was this "cabal," this "brazen gang," as Pertinax calls them, a type of official never before wielding ministerial power, who with Pétain as figurehead exerted a baleful influence during the last hundred hours of the Third Republic.

"The Gravediggers" is one of the first books to unveil this very seamy side of high finance and politics; and not a little of the opposition to General de Gaulle is due to his announced intention to purge these traitors. Very revealing too are the chapters on Allied-Vichy relations, with a passing reference to American gullibility and a devastating record of Pétain's military collaboration with the Nazis in North Africa. But in this comprehensive and extremely well-documented work every angle of France's downfall is considered: nothing, nobody is overlooked. There is the story of the Generals' quarrels, prevarications, and inertia at G. H. Q., (Weygand lied flagrantly and feared communism as much as Pétain); there are details of the corrupt press with some money flowing directly from Hitler and Mussolini into Parisian journals; the decline of the French Academy, once dominated by the country's élite only to become subservient to fascist Italy. It is rich in juicy anecdotes and racy pen-portraits of Bonnet, Flandin, Darlan, the slippery Chautemps —all the intriguants rotating in the cascade of Cabinets between 1933 and 1942. Pertinax is a conservative, writing for conservative papers; he recognizes that the "fascist rabble" existed in the extremes of both the right- and left-wing parties, and was not confined to any single stratum of society. But his is the first authoritative voice definitely indicting his country's leaders for failing in their responsibilities.

Despite the gloomy picture, Pertinax is not pessimistic about the future. He knows that France never recovered from the staggering human losses of World War I; that since the days of Poincaré and Briand second-raters have ruled the land, as indeed where have they not? Parallels of inertia, corruption, and sedition are not lacking elsewhere. Just as France's swift collapse somehow symbolized the climax to a decade of world-wide jungle politics, so her national tradition and resiliency may enable her yet to lead the universe in new forms of government and ordered life. For this great task De Gaulle will need new men to help him; clemency for Vichy, with its lure of vested interests, would be fatal, warns Pertinax. Certainly his own unflinching record of events is ample proof of the high courage and character with which Frenchmen have always offset their weakness.

LILIAN MOWRER

Philosopher-Politician

GEORGE BANCROFT: BRAHMIN REBEL. By Russel B. Nye. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THE title is not alluring and the sub-title is highly questionable, yet here is a sound and refreshing book about one of the chief molders of the prevailing American mind and mood. Here, in little more than three hundred pages, is all that need be remembered about the long, full, and influential life of the Dean of American Historians, together with the main contemporary opinions and events by which that life was affected. Mr. Nye has a thoroughly interesting and certainly an important story to tell. It is neither diminished in the telling nor unduly magnified. If the book shows little psychological subtlety, the reason may be that George Bancroft did not show much. If there is less critical comment than one expects in good biographical writing, that is because Mr. Nye lets the facts speak for themselves, as George Bancroft seldom managed to do.

One doubts, at first, whether Bancroft deserved so compact and unified a record. For he was characteristically expansive, like the drop of oil that spreads over acres of water. Beginning as a poor clergyman's son studying at Harvard and abroad for the ministry, he became a rich man, a politician, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister Plenipotentiary first to England and then, in his old age, to the Prussia of

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Bismarck. Though reared a Whig and allied by marriage to New England bankers, he was in politics a Jacksonian Democrat—a fact which did not prevent him from ghost-writing the first message to Congress of the Republican President Andrew Johnson. Primarily a man of the library, he had much to do with launching his country into the war with Mexico which many thoughtful New Englanders regarded as unnecessary and unjust. Although he knew little at first hand about naval affairs, he founded the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in the face of Congressional indifference. On the one hand Bancroft was a shrewd Yankee with strong worldly ambitions, most of which must have been fully satisfied. On the other hand he was a Transcendentalist with a set of metaphysical beliefs hardly distinguishable from those of Emerson. And it is one of the stranger paradoxes of his life that his almost chauvinistic patriotism was corroborated, during his student years at Göttingen and Berlin, by the thought of Hegel, Fichte, and Schleiermacher.

Yet Bancroft's life, thought, and work were governed by one philosophic tenet. He believed, like all other Transcendentalists, that mankind is endowed with a direct intuition of "the world of intelligence and the decrees of God." He held that this institution is not the prerogative of a few but an "attribute of the human race." Thence came his conviction that "the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority." Quite simply and literally he believed that the voice of the people is the voice of God. History was to him the record of God's will as imperfectly exemplified in the past, and politics he understood as an effort to make that will prevail in the present. That the will of the Omnipotent must ultimately prevail was certain, and therefore Bancroft was an unquestioningly optimistic believer in Progress. It seemed to him obvious that the purposes of God would be most promptly fulfilled in the Land of the Free, where they would meet the least impediment from human authority. To him, therefore, the history of his own country was little less than a divine revelation.

Here lies one reason, if not an excuse, for the tumid and pontifical prose style which makes Bancroft's "History of the United States," once familiar to every literate American, almost unreadable today. It is written as though the author were constantly proclaiming, "Thus saith the Lord!"

Something of the same sort must be said of Bancroft's political career, with which the most valuable and interesting parts of Mr. Nye's narrative are concerned. Here too one sees the man guided by his one central tenet. Worldly considerations, to be sure, were never far from his thoughts, yet he reached Jacksonian democracy by the philosophic path. Even when floundering through the mire and squalor of political expediency, showing himself by no means averse to rough-and-tumble and name-calling, he had in mind a purpose worthy of an idealist. His own family and that of his wife, nearly all his friends, quite all of those persons who might have helped him to social and academic success, were Whigs—many of them with the inveterate virus of Federalism still in their veins. During his visit in Boston Charles Dickens wrote to Macready: "I speak of Bancroft, and am advised to be silent on the matter, for he is a black sheep, a Democrat."

By years of hard work Bancroft made himself the head of his party in Massachusetts. His party was strengthened by the prestige of his literary fame and by his determined leadership. Thus he put his philosophy to work as few other Transcendentalists were able to do. Emerson could write: "The philosopher, the poet, or the religious man will, of course, wish to cast his vote with the democrat for free-trade, for wide suffrage, for the abolition of legal cruelties in the penal code, and for facilitating in every manner the access of the young and the poor to the sources of wealth." Emerson's political activities, however, usually stopped short at phraseology. In all his comments upon his contemporaries Emerson never went farther astray than when he said: "Bancroft and Bryant are historical democrats, who are inter-

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AND THE

Peoples' Peace

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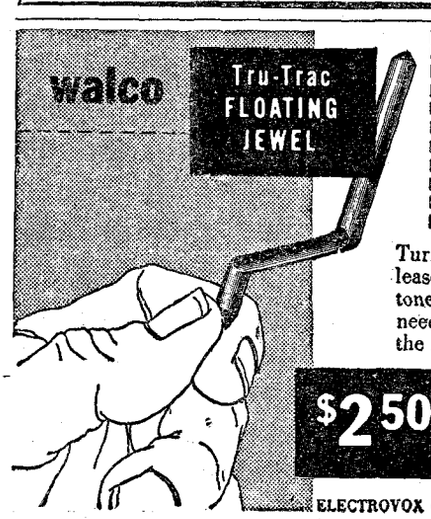

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ested in dead or organized, but not in organizing, liberty."

In his political and diplomatic career Bancroft was actuated by the same motives that held him all his life to the study and writing of history. It should have been he who first said that "history is past politics," and he might have added that politics is history in the making. He saw nothing remarkable in the fact that he, a man of monumental learning with international fame as a writer, was taking a citizen's part in the running of his country. Plato's fine-spun theories about the necessity of drafting "philosopher-kings" for the government of the state must have seemed to him ridiculously aristocratic. On one of his stump-speaking tours he wrote in his journal: "The people is the sovereign. The man of letters is his counsellor."

As a politician Bancroft had to learn the truth of Burke's saying that "all government is founded on a compromise and barter." In the library, however, he could give his idealism full swing. There were, of course, the facts of history to be considered, and he always treated the facts with respect. Indeed Bancroft has had too little credit for the preference he always showed for "original sources." Yet it cannot be said that he maintained a wholly "objective" attitude toward his data. History writing, to him, was an art rather than a science, and as an art it not only allowed but demanded self-expression. Under his hand it became also a kind of preaching. The facts were his raw material, awaiting interpretation in the light of Transcendental intuition.

Mary Austin tells us that "among the Navaho there is a nine-day performance designed to make the smell of a man's own tribe seem a good smell to him." Americans of a century ago were served in a similar way by George Bancroft's "History of the United States." It gave us what we then most needed: pride in our past, confidence in our destiny, tradition, almost a mythology, and native saints and heroes. Struggling as we then were, without much help from other lands, to win and to keep and to justify our national self-respect, we were not a little comforted to find that the annals of our country—eked out, to be sure, by occasional digressions—could already fill ten large volumes written in a style at least as imposing as that of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." We did not at first hold it against Bancroft that he habitually made his little fishes talk like great whales. That was what most Americans were doing in the Age of Andrew Jackson. Neither did we think Bancroft any the less a historian because of his conviction that history has a meaning and that a thoughtful presentation of the past can provide some guidance for the future. What we felt about Bancroft's History was that here was a noble story, nobly told. For fifty years we accepted it as orthodox, almost canonical. Today the work is nearly forgotten, but in its time it passed so completely into the heart and mind of America that it is living still in our national optimism, in the idealism that underlies our materialistic preoccupations, and in our sense that we are a dedicated people.

Tested by the criteria of the present day, Bancroft's History is seen to have many obvious defects. Even in his own time it was clear that he lacked the brilliance of Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. Now as then, however, it should be equally clear that he surpassed these younger contemporaries in the steady devotion of all his literary power to the task of understanding and interpreting his own land. Among his faults we do not find any failure to recognize, or the least tendency to shirk, the responsibilities undertaken by every writer who sets himself to narrate and evaluate his country's past.

ODELL SHEPARD

Josiah Wedgwood, Democrat

TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY. By the Right Hon. Lord Wedgwood. American Chapter, Emergency Council. $3.75.

AS MR. LASKI has put it, democratic government is less a matter for eulogy than for exploration. No matter whether this exploration results in the classic definition we were given by the Gettysburg address or in the more subtle explanation that democracy is government by discussion and reason, it remains, like any other political institution, an ideal dependent on the imperfection of human beings.

"Were I asked"—this is what Winston Churchill wrote—"for the best evidence of the virtues of our democracy I would cite the whole political life of my old and gallant friend Josiah Wedgwood." In his book as in his life, Lord Wedgwood's endeavor is to enhance the charms and virtues of that variety of rule which is known as British parliamentary government.

This "Testament" which Lord Wedgwood of Barlaston bequeaths to democracy is indeed a valuable heritage. He sat as a Liberal-Labor member in the House of Commons for seven and thirty years. The lesson of his life's experience was that "criticism is precisely what constitutes government by reason and the great virtue of Parliament is that there are always some to find fault with the government of the day and keep a check upon its actions." It is not hard to understand how uneasy he felt when he was muzzled in the House during the year he held a post in the MacDonald Cabinet.

Comparing Parliament with other instruments of democracy, Wedgwood considers a free press to be the most important but "Parliament must function if democracy is not to languish." No one is more competent to describe the intricacies of the British Parliament, and the late Lord Wedgwood, in spite of his predilection for the Mother of Parliaments, has done it with his characteristic wit and candor. He thinks the rigid separation of the executive from the legislature in the Constitution of the United States was "based entirely on the misconception of Parliament." Nevertheless, "with respectful deference to Mr. Churchill," he is bound to admit that the present British Parliament has become too full of executive "place-men" in spite of the control of the executive by the legislature. Most interesting is the chapter dealing with corruption, one of the weaknesses which made possible the success of fascist propaganda. Education of the electorate is, in Lord Wedgwood's opinion, the only remedy against, and the only salvation from, fascist retrogression. Accepting as the essence of all true education the dictum of Archbishop Lang, "Teach them to think, not *what* to think," Wedgwood gives full credit to the great public schools which taught the governing class of England courage, self-respect, and team spirit. Now, when democracy

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no longer consists of a Parliament of one class well trained for governing, "if democracy is to survive, the people must be taught to think as well as to read and write."

But Wedgwood's "Testament" contains more than sound advice on how to save democracy, which is asserted to be in crisis only by those who ignore the fact that both freedom and democracy are the only legitimate twins of our civilization. It is at this point that the "Testament" turns to prophecy. Predicting that the triumph of the United Nations will involve an international five-year plan for the salvage of civilization, he sets his hopes on a financial federation of Britain and America because only a supernational financial unity can check a runaway inflation. Safety, peace, and justice being the common desire of all mankind, a step would be the union of the English-speaking peoples with the door open to all democratically governed countries.

The next to the last chapter of the "Testament" deals with "Hitler's Subhumans" and suggests a larger Palestine as a self-governing state pledged to open frontiers for immigration. Wedgwood's deep sympathy with the tragedy of the Jews explains the American publication of this volume by the American Chapter of the Emergency Council of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. Royalties from the book will be donated to the Wedgwood Memorial Fund.

The upright character, the frank and genial personality which distinguished the author are manifest in his book. Accused once by the leader of the House of "inciting to violence," Lord Wedgwood admitted the charge. "In a sense," he wrote, "my whole life has been an incitement to think, to see, and then to act. Every idea is an incitement." That can be said of the ideas in "Testament," which is addressed to all brave and conscientious crusaders for liberty.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Sea Power in World War II

A GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY. By Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. Revised Edition. $2.75.

THIS excellent book of a well-known naval writer is not simply a new edition of his "A Layman's Guide to Naval Strategy." For all practical purposes it is a new book, which contains not only a discussion of naval strategy but also a naval history of the present war up to our landings in Normandy and Saipan. Lieutenant Brodie has set himself the task of stating the mission of a navy under modern conditions of war. While emphasizing the revolutionary changes brought about by air power, Brodie shows that aviation will not drive warships of any category from the seas. Nor does air power deprive sea power of its basic function, which is "to control transportation over the seas during wartime."

The course of the war has fully vindicated Dr. Brodie's earlier and present analysis. In fact, the last two years have seen naval fighting of an intensity unprecedented in history. The author points out, for instance, that at the end of the Guadalcanal campaign "the tonnage of sunken warships lying off the island was considerably greater than that lost on both sides at Jutland"—and Jutland was hitherto the greatest naval engagement in history. Moreover, the navy has now assumed greater importance than ever before, because in the twentieth century war has become essentially a transoceanic affair. The greatest naval writer of the inter-war period, the French Admiral Castex, emphasized a few years ago that land power was asserting itself more and more over sea power. Yet the present war shows that sea power has influenced the course of history more than ever before: landing operations cannot be carried out without the fire power of warships; large forces of carriers constitute the only genuine air power at present in existence.

The chief value of Brodie's book lies in its modernistic orthodoxy. Most followers of Mahan have reiterated merely the old venerable principles without being able to apply them to modern conditions. Brodie is the first naval writer who has written on naval war as it is fought in the period of triphibian war. It is important, however, to bear in mind that Brodie's book is oriented almost exclusively toward Anglo-American naval problems, and is written from the point of view of a *superior* sea power.

The "Guide to Naval Strategy" is to be recommended to those who want to enrich their knowledge of the present war. The author describes the tools of sea power and shows what these tools can do. It is remarkable how well he succeeded in turning a rather dry matter into interesting reading. His account of the submarine war in the Atlantic is the most illuminating which has yet appeared in print (and incidentally reminds one of his prediction, published in the dark days of 1942, that the U-boat offensive would shortly be broken). Equally interesting are Brodie's analysis of the failure of German naval strategy, his description of the

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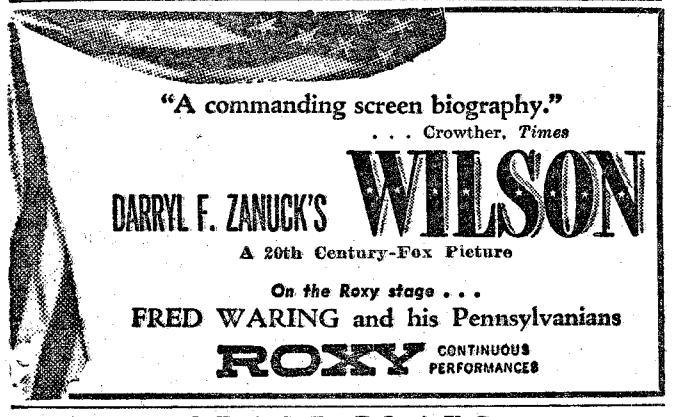

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astonishing naval campaign in the Mediterranean, and his review of the Pacific war. The latter war is most difficult to understand because of the novel elements of geography and because problems connected with Japan are puzzling to the Western mind. It is not always fully realized that for many dreary months our forces in the Pacific were inferior to the Japanese. In Brodie's interpretation the Pacific war makes sense. His interpretation also highlights the brilliant quality of our recent Pacific strategy. Needless to add, Lieutenant Brodie, who in civilian life is professor of Political Science at Dartmouth College, has not neglected the political and human aspects of naval strategy. STEFAN T. POSSONY

Fiction in Review

FRANZ HOELLERING'S "Furlough" (Viking, $2.50), set in Germany in this last year in which Germany has been learning defeat, is unusual, among anti-Nazi novels at least, for its refusal to exploit the bloody possibilities of its material and for having as its male lead a character who couldn't be played by Gary Cooper. Far from being a virtuoso of the underground, the Hans of "Furlough" is a Nazified young brute who in earliest childhood showed the bent of fascist self-assertion; it is merely the latest outbreak of ruthlessness that Hans kills a comrade on the Russian front in order to steal his furlough papers. But vacation from war is a disappointment: conditions at home are desperate and Hans's sweetheart, Leni, is an anti-Nazi. By the end of the furlough, the stalwart Hitlerite has become a purposeful deserter. The political conversion is quick but convincing. What is not convincing is the hope Mr. Hoellering would seem to pin to the regenerated Hanses of Germany. For while I agree with "Furlough" that no amount of coercion makes a Nazi out of a decent human being, I believe, by a similar logic, that no amount of disillusionment makes a reliable human being out of someone as temperamentally susceptible to Nazism as Hans, or so deeply poisoned by it. Mr. Hoellering has let himself be pushed to a sentimental extreme if he considers even a reformed Hans anything but a problem for the future.

Warren Beck's "Final Score" (Knopf, $2.50) is another study of the fascist personality of our time—of the possible American fascist personality. A first novel, written with much quiet taste, it is the history of a small-city football idol who becomes a dangerous political demagogue. Bill Hutten was born at the wrong end of town and reared among people who are much more apt for the revenges of violent action than for the slow healings of due process; like the German Hans, he had "some dark primary evil" in his heart even as a boy. Then, on the college athletic field, and later as the front for a sporting-goods company, Hutten learns the taste for power; he graduates to the deeper satisfactions of being the front for a local political putsch. Mr. Beck unfortunately tells his story through the minds of a pair of close spectators at Hutten's rise instead of casting it into direct action—a method which reduces the dramatic effectiveness of his novel and makes it somewhat tedious. Nevertheless, "Final Score" is a firm and thoughtful American psychological-political document. DIANA TRILLING

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IN BRIEF

ON LIVING IN A REVOLUTION. By Julian Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

Considering its distinguished author, this book can be set down only as an undistinguished *olla podrida.* Professor Huxley prints here a miscellany of his essays from the magazines, and even a radio script. About half of them advance the theme that society is undergoing a "transformation toward a world more planned, more closely connected, and more internationally organized." The rest of the book is made up of things like the amusing if irrelevant piece on the original perpetrator of the Spoonerism, a personage bizarre enough to delight Julian's brother Aldous. (The man who made the remark about "occupewing my pie" happens to have been a myopic albino don, of saintly character.) The editing is so slipshod that at one place Emerson, at another Carlyle, is credited with saying, "Gad, she'd better!" when Margaret Fuller announced her acceptance of the universe. It all adds up to a footling sort of book. No one in his senses could quarrel with Professor Huxley's main theme, but he offers nothing that will implement it. That portion of the public which is on Huxley's own intellectual level surely grasped the concept of a planned world at least as long ago as the creative years of Wells and Shaw. And as for the vast uneducated public which must be won over to this idea, because only through them can it be carried out democratically, this book—so blandly donnish, so centered in sociological abstractions—will do nothing whatever to enlighten them.

DAY OF DELIVERANCE: A BOOK OF POEMS IN WAR TIME. By William Rose Benét. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

When patriotic sentiment is wanted, the poetasters can be counted on to fill every need. With this general remark, and with charity rebuking the suspicion that there is always an element of exploitation in such performances, criticism has done its full duty by Mr. Benét's latest book in saying that there is no discrepancy between its matter and manner, both of which are execrable.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"THE JEW IN OUR DAY"
By Waldo Frank
Reviewed by W. H. Auden

RECORDS

VICTOR'S September set (932; $2.50) of Bach's Concerto in D minor for two violins, played by Menuhin and Enesco with an orchestra under Monteux, offers the performance that has been available for about ten years on two single records, which have now been put into an album. On the whole it is an acceptable performance, and preferable to the badly recorded Szigeti-Flesch version. As for Menuhin's playing in the performance, I did not like it when I first heard it; and rehearing it now I recognize the qualities I disliked, but I also am aware of how much worse his playing has become since then. I speak, of course, of what I have heard on recently issued records; and records, in fact, document a deterioration that is both saddening and mystifying. I have Victor record 7182, issued around 1930 (it was in the Victor catalogue until recently, and I hope will be restored after the war), on which "Master Yehudi Menuhin" plays the slow movement of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.216, producing a clear, compact, and lovely tone in simply inflected, large-spanned phrases. On the records of Bach's concerto, issued about four years later, there are changes in the tone, which tends to be tremulously over-sweet (I called it "treacly" at the time), and in the phrasing, which tends toward exaggerated small-scale inflection (I called it "precious"). And on recent records the tone is coarse, the phrases chopped to bits.

Also on Victor's September list are a number of singles. On one (10-1105; $.75) is a little Corelli Sonata in F for strings and organ, of which the two slow movements are characteristically lovely and poignant, and the second of the two fast movements is superb. The performance by the Fiedler Sinfonietta and E. Power Biggs is good, and is well recorded. On another (10-1104; $.75) are the duet *Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen* from "The Magic Flute," sung by Rethberg and Pinza, and *Se vuol ballare* from "The Marriage of Figaro," sung by Pinza. Rethberg's voice is unpleasantly acidulous in its high register but lovely in its middle and low range, and her phrasing in this range is exquisite. In the duet Pinza sings with vocal and stylistic constraint that gives the impression of his not being at ease in the music or the language; in the aria, on the other hand, he is completely at ease to the point of overdoing everything.

Sevitzky's performance of Strauss's "Frühlingsstimmen" Waltz with the Indianapolis Symphony (11-8609; $1) is gracefully straightforward most of the time, with only a few of the exaggerated retardations that are considered correct in Strauss waltzes; on the reverse side is what is described as an arrangement by Dubensky of a Waltz by Weber, which is very charming. The performances are well recorded. And finally Rachmaninov creates around Bach's E major Partita for unaccompanied violin a thick texture which not only obscures the original single line of music with its rhythms and its strands of counterpoint, but occasionally falsifies it with some of Rachmaninov's own chord progressions. The result is acceptable as an occasion for some stunning piano-playing, but not as a statement of Bach's work (11-8607; $1).

Letters have come in expressing agreement with what I wrote about Heifetz's playing recently; and a friend for whose musical judgment I have the highest respect remarked: "Your article was especially interesting to me because just recently someone took me to hear Heifetz at the Stadium. One of the things he played was Chausson's "Poème," which is a piece that I love very much and have heard a great deal and know very well. And I can tell you that I was horrified by Heifetz's performance. Everything the work does with delicacy Heifetz exaggerated and cheapened in the way you described: the slow parts he dragged and sentimentalized; the animated parts he rushed, so that they became displays of pyrotechnics. It was without any question a thoroughly vulgar performance."

The idea of the people who created "Song of Norway" seems to have been that it was legitimate to work the music of Grieg's Piano Concerto and smaller piano pieces and songs into a tuneful musical comedy score if the libretto and lyrics were concerned with a story about Grieg himself. But I don't accept that idea; and I would be outraged by the misuse of his music even if what it was misused for—action, dialogue, comedy, acting, and in particular the comic "hamming" on a grand scale that Irra Petina has done heretofore in minor comedy parts at the Metropolitan—were not of a kind to make me writhe most of the evening. Relief came only near the end, with the two little ballets which provided new and charming

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examples of Balanchine's fresh and imaginative use of ballet materials. His musical comedy choreography I did not care much for; and I disliked the rhythmic perversities that he introduced into the peasant dances. B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

RUFUS BAXTER is the pseudonym of an old contributor to *The Nation* recently returned from Algiers.

F. G. L. is a well-known figure in Pennsylvania's progressive political movement.

LEWIS S. GANNETT, book critic for the New York *Herald Tribune,* is now in Europe reporting the war for that paper.

GEROLD FRANK is war correspondent in the Near East for the Overseas Press Service.

ELIZABETH WILDER, assistant keeper of the Archive of Hispanic Culture, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, is in Mexico as a Guggenheim Fellow, studying the sculpture of Mexico's colonial period.

LILIAN MOWRER observed French politics at close hand during several years' residence in Paris.

ODELL SHEPARD, professor of English at Trinity College, won the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1937 with his "Pedlar's Progress."

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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Letters to the Editors

They Still Think

Dear Sirs: This must be a private letter inasmuch as servicemen are scarcely supposed to have political hopes and thoughts, during an election year especially. Of course this is an infantile attitude. You and I know that in order that war may become "a crusade and not a crime" there must be deep and soul-stirring emotions to rouse us into action. A person thus moved to take up arms can scarcely be asked to stop thinking simply because his superiors so command. Blind obedience, fortunately, has never been the strong point of democratic peoples. When the day comes that I feel muzzled and cannot think, hope, express, and argue my beliefs, that is the day I shall be tempted to rebel.

Until recently I was out in the Pacific theater as a combat dive-bomber pilot aboard a carrier. I was there for well over a year and of course it was a constant struggle to keep up with world developments even in a most limited sense. During this period I depended more than ever before on my *Nation* to supply me with the perspective that is so difficult to maintain on or near the actual war fronts.

It is very true, what Justice Holmes told us about war—that it makes the participant realize more fully the vital and passionate nature of life; and yet there is still the drawback of being too close to see the whole. My *Nation* has helped tremendously to supply this deficiency and consequently I am "mighty beholden." I am pained that it is not more widely read and appreciated but even at 26 I have long since discovered that most men don't wish to develop much of their brain power.

May you keep plugging along and chiseling away at the public conscience; who knows when the floodgates might be loosed? A. W. B.

Somewhere in Florida, August 13

There Are Ways

Dear Sirs: The management of the Philadelphia Transportation Company must bear its share of blame for the strike of prejudiced white employees there against the upgrading of Negro workers.

The company did nothing to stop, but apparently encouraged, anti-Negro agitation among its workers by a relatively few racial bigots, instead of making a genuine effort to sell the idea of working with Negroes as motormen. There are established techniques for handling such a situation, developed by organizations like the Urban League and by progressive employers. They include assuring the white workers that they will not lose their jobs to Negroes and stressing the patriotic and democratic aspects of providing Negroes with job opportunities according to their ability and seniority.

These methods were not used, and racial bigots among the workers were given the green light by the company because the company wanted to defeat the CIO union in a labor-board election among its employees. The company knew that the CIO union, the Transport Workers, would not permit curtailment of the right of its Negro members to be upgraded, and hoped to defeat the CIO on this issue by fanning into flame the race prejudice among its employees which otherwise would have been dormant and could easily have been overcome without a strike if the management had honestly tried to do so.

Negroes work as motormen and bus drivers in New York, and without any racial incidents.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, August 24

Among Our Non-Readers

Dear Sirs: Some time ago I received a letter inviting me to subscribe to *The Nation* at a special rate of $3. While I do not care to accept this offer, I venture to reply to a question asked in the letter:

"The battle lines have been clearly drawn, not only in the field of military combat abroad, but in another theatre of operations that affect you just as vitally—in the struggle of democracy vs. totalitarianism here on the home front.

"On which side are you?"

I am on the side of democracy, whereas *The Nation* is on the side of totalitarianism. The position for which *The Nation* stands is in general that an American citizen, unless he happens to be a left-wing intellectual or a member of the CIO, has no rights that the national government is bound to respect and that the ideal political set-up would be one in which these favored classes ruled the rest of the population with a rod of iron. That is not exactly my conception of democracy.

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Incidentally, I don't think it would be a very good investment to pay even $3 to ascertain "why President Roosevelt has dropped the name and abandoned much of the program of the New Deal." Mr. Roosevelt's one overmastering ambition, as everybody who reads the papers concluded long ago, is to get and hold for himself power, power, power, in ever widening circles. For as long as the cultivation of the intellectuals and of the CIO served this purpose, he was ready to do anything and everything to enlist their support. Just now he plainly feels that these elements comprise, after all, only a minority of the total population, and that there is a possibility that the disaffection of these other elements may reach the point of temporarily neutralizing their differences and uniting them to sweep out the New Deal. Under these circumstances the prospects of the fourth term will presumably be enhanced by affecting to throw the left-wingers overboard and playing up the safe-and-sane traditions of Jeffersonian democracy (*sic*). HAROLD S. DAVIS

Boston, August 5

Voters and Bosses

Dear Sirs: A letter from R. W. Pence in Greencastle, Indiana, poses a paradoxical question: "Would it not be better to turn the country over in November to the frankly reactionary group—the Republican Party—than turn it over to the reactionary bosses of the Democratic Party? Thus the Democratic Party could retain the reputation of being the one liberal hope in the country."

This argument reminds me of an argument which Walter Lippmann some weeks ago advanced as a reason against President Roosevelt's reelection. Mr. Lippmann—who in 1932 described Roosevelt as "a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for the office, would very much like to be President," and who in 1936 again exhibited the profundity of his political views by urging the election of Alf M. Landon—gave as his 1944 opinion that President Roosevelt should not run for reelection because, if he should run and fail, both the war effort and the peace plans would be discredited.

It would require no great effort to expand such views into a comprehensive philosophy of action—or, rather, of inaction and reaction. Lest a cathedral go up in flames we should not, obviously, light a candle on the altar. Lest the human race should fall into fresh errors, we should practice infanticide. Lest we stumble and fall, we should not ascend a ladder, personally, politically, nationally, or internationally. Think of the colossal ignominy of forming a new and better League of Nations and perhaps having it collapse some day in the distant future! Obviously, our duty is to do nothing at all and thus avert every vestige of discredit that might ensue upon the failure of our ambitions.

As for political bosses, let Mr. Pence stop worrying about trivialities that already are over-advertised by our Republican press. Nobody is bossing my vote and nobody will be bossing Mr. Pence's vote if he doesn't permit himself to be pushed around by childish arguments incessantly advertised by reactionary newspapers. We, the voters, are the bosses. We cease to be at the very moment that we relinquish our right to vote for the best President, the best Vice-President, the best Senators, the best Representatives who are available for office.

WINTHROP PARKHURST

New York, August 28

Those Italian Prisoners

Dear Sirs: As an American who has tried to follow closely our policy toward Italy, I have been struck by the folly of our short-sighted treatment of Italian war prisoners. Thousands of these men have declared their readiness to take up arms for the United Nations cause; they have been screened by the FBI; they are not Fascists. Many of them, in fact were active anti-Fascists long before the United States entered the war. Yet they are denied the opportunity to fight, and are still paid the miserable 80 cents a day granted war prisoners—while they work long hours at war work—and while misinformed Americans write indignant letters to the papers protesting what they term the "coddling" of these men because they are given a few hours off per week during which they are able to make some contact with American life.

If this war is a simple game of cops and robbers, then one Italian is no different from another. But if, as most of us believe, the war has political meaning, if it is a war of democrats against fascism, we are under solemn obligation at all times and in all cases to distinguish between our friends and our enemies, whatever their nationality.

RICHARD N. KELLY,
Editor, *Facts from Italy*

New York, August 28

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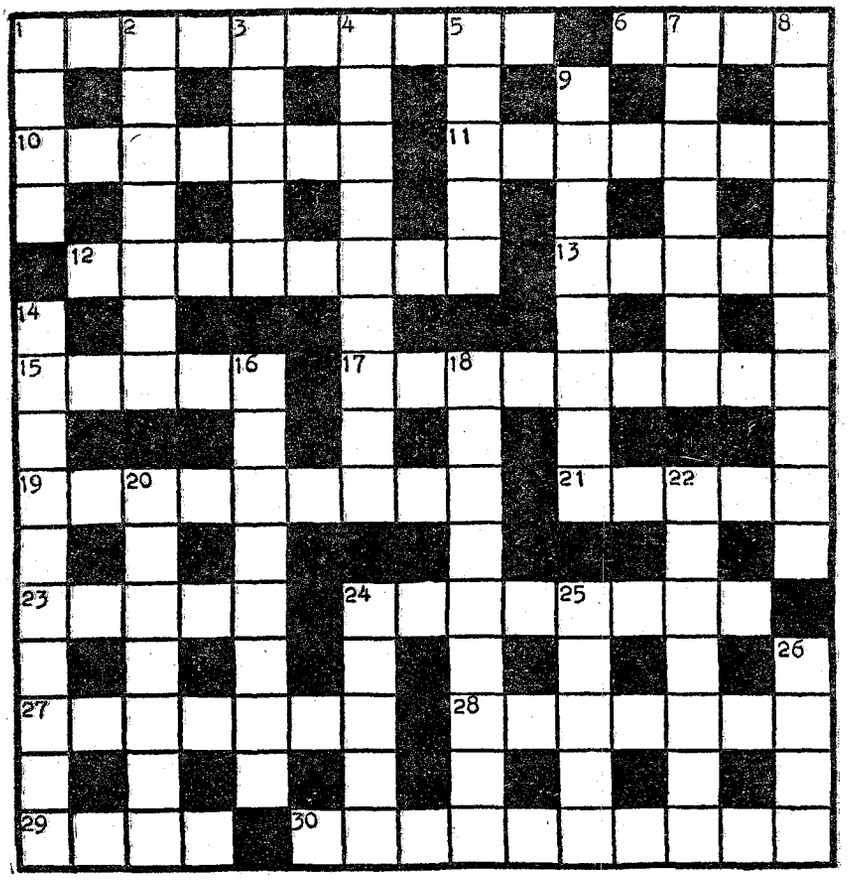
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 80

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 This Treaty was written in two languages
6 Nurse in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, fond of quoting "Mrs. Harris"
10 Hold up
11 Bouncer or chucker-out, perhaps
12 "--------- they heard a most melodious sound" (*Faerie Queen*)
13 Boring part of a garden nuisance
15 Dish a boy must finish
17 French coins or cakes
19 But no breast-plates?
21 You might make this Muse orate
23 In Ipswich or Norwich
24 Anything but neat's-foot, you would think
27 I lament (anag.)
28 A letter of advice with frigid ending
29 Black
30 "Garden of Eden, nr. Babylon, Asia Minor," might have found them (three words, 4, 3 and 3)

DOWN

1 Garment that's rather short for a goddess
2 In confusion there is naturally flusster, but it seems strange here
3 Parson in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*
4 Dreamland (three words, 4, 2 and 3)
5 Yet seven may be such times of day
7 Sea-captain, friend to Sebastian, in *Twelfth Night*
8 Leave with a girl in the midst of it
9 Bugle call the soldier dislikes most?
14 Digest this!
16 "---------, at his utmost need, By those his former bounty fed" (Dryden)
18 Complaint of one who has lived with an optimist?
20 The Moor of Venice
22 Wolf's-bane or monk's-hood
24 Say, Ted, have you had enough?
25 Mystic number
26 Give up

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 79

ACROSS:—1 POSTERN; 5 POCKETS; 9 NEGUS; 10 MORSE CODE; 11 HEADMARKS; 12 PLEAD; 13 ROUNDEL; 15 SETTLER; 17 BLESSED; 19 SWAGGER; 21 OZONE; 23 FORGOTTEN; 25 TAMBOURIN; 26 CRIME; 27 RUNDALE; 28 ENRAGES.

DOWN:—1 PANTHER; 2 SIGNATURE; 3 EPSOM; 4 NUMERAL; 5 PURISTS; 6 CLEOPATRA; 7 ERODE; 8 SLENDER; 14 DESDEMONA; 16 LIGHTNING; 17 BLOATER; 18 DEFARGE; 19 STRANGE; 20 RINGERS; 22 OSMAN; 24 OCCUR.

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